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ASSOCIATION PAPERS.

PART I. PUBLICATIONS.

PRINTED BY SPECIAL ORDER OF THE SOCIETY FOR PRESERVING
LIBERTY AND PROPERTY AGAINST REPUBLICANS AND LE-
VELLERS, AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR, IN THE STRAND.

PART II. A COLLECTION OF TRACTS, PRINTED AT THE EXPENCE OF THAT SOCIETY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
A PREFACE,
AND THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

ADDRESSED TO ALL THE
LOYAL ASSOCIATIONS,
Quod Urbem Incendiis, Cæde Cives, Italiam Bello liberâssent.
CICERO IN CATILINAM, 3.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. SEWELL, IN CORNHILL ; J. DEBRET, 2,
PICCADILLY ; J. DOWNES, NO. 240, STRAND ;
HOOKHAM AND CARPENTER, BOND-STREET ;
T. N. LONGMAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW ;
AND W. LANE, LEADENHALL-STREET.

1970-1971

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THE
P R E F A C E.

THE present Volume contains the several Papers that have been published by the ASSOCIATION at the CROWN AND ANCHOR in separate Numbers.

The occasion of these little Publications is in every one's remembrance ; they have had their use for the time ; and they are now collected into a volume, as a library-book for such as have any curiosity to preserve the productions of the day.

When they were sold for a penny, they were designed for a different class of readers and purchasers from those into whose hands the present volume may chance to come. Such as may condescend to turn over this Collection should remember, that the times are happily changed since the months of November and December last ; and we must travel back to that period of anxiety and public alarm, in order to feel the sentiments, and to relish the style, of many of these papers. If any persons should be so severe as to think all this aid from times and circumstances ought not to rescue some of these performances from the sentence of criticism, neither the publishers nor authors will, we believe, feel much pain in consigning them to

such a fate. And yet, if success be the test of good writing, some of these are intitled to a better place than much abler compositions. *Thomas Bull's One Pennyworth of Truth* was, in the public opinion, worth all the fine speeches that were made against it. The popular favour attending this piece gave rise to, and it is hoped will now be an excuse for, the letters and other pieces of the *Bull Family* to be found in this Collection.

These papers consist of two classes. The first are such *Publications* as the Society ordered to be printed, after they had been perused and approved by the Committee. The second consists of *Traacts* that were put to the press, without the special direction or approbation of the Committee, by a person in whom the Committee confided. This person directed his attention principally to provide for the lower class of readers. The style and manner of some of these papers are, therefore, of a particular sort ; and, that there might not be wanting something for every taste, there is added, at the end of each Number, a Ballad. However, among these *Traacts* there are many papers that might very well be placed in the first class.

It was endeavoured, by such *Publications* as the present, to counteract the poison that had been disseminated, and to restore the minds of the People to that tone of good sense, which had ever been the characteristic of this country. The success fully answered the expectation ; by these means falsehood was refuted, sophistry exposed, and sedition repelled ; the peculiar happiness of our Constitution was displayed ; designs of pretended Reforms were examined ; and the principles of Civil Society were fully opened and explained. The discussions upon these subjects not only convinced the deluded and confirmed the wavering, but presented new lights and suggested additional arguments to those who thought

thought they had already ample reason for supporting the Establishment under which we live. The value of our Constitution, and the attachment of the People to it, were never before made so manifest; and it is trusted, the influence of so plain a decision will secure us, at least for the present, not only against attacks from the seditious, but against the visionary speculations of well-meaning men, who may do as much harm with their virtues, as the former with all their vices and crimes.

The Society at whose expence these papers were thus printed, have been the object of much public observation. They have been applauded, and their example followed, by those who support the laws and Constitution; and they have been loaded with imputations by the factious and disaffected. They have seen reasons to be perfectly satisfied with the notice taken of them by these two descriptions of persons.

It is a very general opinion, that the declaration of sentiment which resulted from the forming of Associations throughout the kingdom, saved this Nation at a time when nothing else could have saved it. The Society may be proud of the part they took in so fortunate a measure. The success that has attended their endeavours has not been tarnished by any thing unworthy or unequal in their subsequent conduct. As they opposed themselves to the madness of sedition with spirit, so they proceeded in their career with firmness; and they have borne their success with moderation.

They associated on a special occasion, and for a defined purpose; and when that occasion was passed, and that purpose was served, they suspended their proceedings. They combined for no private or partial views; not to extol or depress any party or any individual; their object was general; and they

purfued it on general principles. It was neither to fet up nor pull down; it was only to preferve; an employment free from the heat and malice of perfonal animofities—they could have no enemies but fuch as the law would term offenders.

When a Society has been formed for preferving That which the whole Nation have followed them in declaring they will preferve with their lives, it feems of little moment to afcertain from what perfons fuch a Society originated, unlefs, indeed, it may be from an honourable defire of doing juftice to its authors. But the origin of this Society has been fcutinized with a very different view. The prefent opportunity may fairly be taken to lay this fpeculation at reft, if reft can be obtained from the unceafing importunity of faction and party.

It is due to the Society, to the Miniftry, and to the Public, to make this declaration—That none of the King's Minifters knew or heard of this Affociation, till they faw the firft advertisement in the public prints. It was planned without their knowledge, and has been conducted to the prefent moment without their aid. It has received no money but fuch as is noticed in the fubfcription-books, which are open to infpection; and there it will be feen, that the Officers of Government contributed little to an undertaking, where they were, however, interefted as individuals, not lefs than others of his Majefty's fubjects. So intirely independent has this Society been of Minifterial fupport!

The truth is, there never was a time when all perfons were fo completely independent of the exifting Adminiftration, as that anxious moment. A much more ferious ftruggle prefented itfelf than whether this or that man fhould be Minifter; it was
a queftion

a question of—Government or no Government. Licentiousness and sedition had got to such a head, that treason and rebellion seemed to be the stronger side, where the ambitious might find promotion, and the base find shelter ; those only who were above mean and personal considerations had the fortitude to stand on the side of the Ministry ; they did this, because the Ministry and the Constitution were at that moment the same.

Most certainly, the Minister had no more to do in the formation of this Association, than of the two thousand and more, that were formed in other parts of the kingdom. They were all of them the voluntary movements of persons, who thought it a crisis in which the Country should declare itself, and strengthen the hands of Government, for the preservation of the King and the Constitution. When the Nation had thus plainly declared its apprehension for our Laws and Liberty, the Government could not do otherwise than concert measures for their preservation. Hence the calling out of the Militia—the assembling of Parliament—the proceedings against seditious persons and writings. All these measures have been called for or approved by the Nation, as necessary for its safety, both public and private.

It has been alledged, that the alarm in the month of November was raised by the Government, and that there was no just cause for it. But every one knows, on the contrary, that the alarm was felt by the People long before it openly appeared to have made any impression on the Government ; and when the alarm had once prevailed, it seemed clear to everyone, that the alarm itself of a whole Nation was cause abundant for measures that were to dispel the apprehensions of danger.

But the cause of the alarm was well known. It was known, that persons of a certain description had conceived

conceived hopes of introducing into this country French principles of Liberty and Equality; that Clubs were formed for propagating these principles; that Addresses were presented to the National Convention, announcing the prospect of a similar Revolution in this kingdom; that the persons presenting these Addresses were applauded and encouraged in their treasonable projects by the Convention; that Emissaries were paid by France to stir up sedition, and Engineers sent to assist in military operations; that a revolt was planned for the beginning of December, when the Tower was to have been seized: the agents in these designs, whether French or English, were likewise known.

While rebellion was thus plotted in concert with France, it is well known what arts were practised to foment it at home. The press daily produced malevolent writings, in which the Constitution was calumniated, and every sanction of Society was attacked; all ranks, but more especially the lower, were inflamed by insinuations of grievances; the soldiers and seamen were tempted from their duty; the artisans and labourers were made dissatisfied with their state of honest industry; all were instructed to regard the present Establishment as an oppression, and excited to follow the example of France in setting up Equality of Ranks, and Liberty without any bounds. The promoters of these seditious doctrines took courage from the successful enterprizes of the Usurpers in France, and boldly threatened us with the support and co-operation of the natural enemy to this country, which had now become the declared enemy to all Governments not formed like its own.

All this was well known; and will any one say it was not cause for alarm, when it had actually produced such an alarm as had never before been felt in this country? The general notoriety of a
fact,

fact, which all men knew, was ground enough for doing that which all men wished. The Government had sufficient testimony on which to found their proceedings, if no other had offered ; but the united voice of the Associations constituted a body of evidence, which superseded all need of proof. The Government did not move till the crisis was complete, and the Country was prepared to justify them in all they did ; and the success with which they were enabled to restore quiet to the Country on that occasion, will add a splendid passage to the history of the present Administration, which has had the singular felicity of uniting good fortune to unwearied endeavours for the public welfare.

It may be permitted to remark, that the late events have produced a decomposition of party that has ended in a new division of public men. There is now a sort of line by which the friends of the Constitution may be distinguished from its enemies ; and those who engage in public business upon public principle, from those who take it up as a traffic for private ends : a like distinction between the well-affected and the ill-affected may also be traced in all parts of the kingdom, through all ranks of life.

People have set themselves to make this observation upon the characters of men, whether public or private, and to keep a suitable watch upon their conduct, since the escape they had in the month of November. The vigilance inspired by the danger of that time, it is hoped, will not soon relax. No doubt, Government will continue its exertions ; individuals will not remit from the habitual attention they have lately paid to the preservation of peace and order ; the Associations, it is certain, will renew all their vigour, whenever the public safety shall require it.

With

With these securities, it is trusted the kingdom will not again be threatened, as it was last year from the month of August to that of November. So reduced in number, and so disappointed in all their projects, are the disaffected, that, it is generally believed, they could not be encouraged to undertake any thing even by the success of the French arms, on which they last year founded so much hope. Unless they disregard their own safety as much as that of others, they will now remain quiet.

Let them listen to the admonition given them by the public justice of their country ;

“ *Illos, quanquam sunt hostes, tamen quia nati sunt*
 “ *cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas*
 “ *adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc expectavit, ut id,*
 “ *quod latebat, erumperet. — Qui in urbe se commove-*
 “ *rit, cujus ego non modo factum sed inceptum ullum,*
 “ *conatumve contra patriam deprehendero ; sentiet in hac*
 “ *urbe esse Consules vigilantes, esse egregios Magistratus,*
 “ *esse fortem Senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem*
 “ *vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores*
 “ *nostri esse voluerunt.*”

CICERO IN CATILINAM ORAT. 2.

LONDON,

JUNE 21, 1793.

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PUBLICATIONS:

PRINTED BY SPECIAL ORDER OF THE

S O C I E T Y, &c.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ASSOCIATION
FOR PRESERVING
LIBERTY AND PROPERTY
AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER I.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Warehouse*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill; J. DEBRET, Piccadilly; and HOOKAM and CARPENTER, Bond-Street.

Price only ONE HALFPENNY;

Or 3s. per Hundred to such as give them away.

At a MEETING of GENTLEMEN at the CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, in the Strand, November 20, 1792,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

The following CONSIDERATIONS and RESOLUTIONS were entered into and agreed upon:

CONSIDERING the danger to which the Publick Peace and Order are exposed by the circulating of mischievous Opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the industry of Clubs and Societies of various denominations in many parts of the Kingdom:

It appears to us, That it is now become the duty of all Persons, who wish well to their Native Country, to endeavour, in their several neighbourhoods, to prevent the sad

effects of such mischievous industry; and that it would greatly tend to promote these good endeavours, if Societies were formed in different parts of the Kingdom, whose object should be to support the Laws, to suppress seditious Publications, and to defend our Persons and Property against the innovations and depredations that seem to be threatened by those who maintain the mischievous opinions before alluded to.

These opinions are conveyed in the terms—*the Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import; all of them, in the sense imposed on them, expressing sentiments in direct opposition to the Laws of this Land, and some of them such as are inconsistent with the well-being of Society under any laws whatsoever.

It appears to us, the tendency of these Opinions is, that we are voluntarily to surrender every thing we now possess; our Religion and our Laws; our civil Government and Civil Society; and that we are to trust to the formation of something New, upon the principles of Equality, and under the auspices of speculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the World: And it appears, that the Missionaries of this Sect are aiming at effecting the Overthrow of the present System of Government and Society, by infusing into the minds of ignorant men causes of discontent adapted to their various stations: some of which causes are wholly imaginary, and the rest are such as inseparably belong to civil life; have existed, and ever will exist, under all Forms of Government; cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied, a hundred fold, by the change proposed.

It appears from History and Observation, that the inequality of rank and fortune in this happy Country, is more the result of every man's own exertions, than of any controuling institution of the State. Men become great, who have greatly distinguished themselves by the application of talents natural or acquired. Men become rich, who have persevered with industry in the application to Trade and Commerce, to Manufactures, and other useful employments. How many persons now of great rank and fortune, who were born without either! How many rich Merchants and Traders who begun their career in the lowest employments of the shop and counting-house!

In the progress to this advancement they have all, in their stations, contributed their share towards the show of opulence, both publick and private, which is to be seen in every part of this Island. It is by the effects of this industry, that

the

the Gentleman is enabled to support his rank and station; and the Merchant and Tradesman to employ his Clerks, Journeymen, and Apprentices. Hence comes the price of the Farmer's corn, and the wages of Servants of every description: By this happy *Inequality*, and dependence of one man on another, employment is found for all, in their several vocations to which they have been called by design or accident. This *Inequality* and dependence is so infinitely diversified in this country, that there is no place upon earth where there are so many ways, in which a man by his talents and industry may raise himself above his equals. This has hitherto been thought a pre-*eminent* happiness that was peculiar to ourselves, and ought to be cherished: it has been ascribed to the protecting influence which Property has always enjoyed under equal Laws; and it has encreased of late years in a wonderful degree, by the prosperity which was caused, and can only be continued by the same influence.

We are, upon the fullest deliberation, of opinion, that proposing to pull down this goodly fabrick, which has been gradually reared by the successive virtue and industry of all the great and good men who have lived in this Island for centuries, and to submit to begin afresh upon a new system of *Equality*, as it is called, seems a proposition that can be suggested only by the most undisguised wickedness, and entertained by the grossest folly.

Because, if so wild a plan was to be carried into execution, and all men were made equal, they would from that moment begin to struggle, who should first rise above his equals; and it is beyond all question, if there was any industry, or any virtue; if there was peace, and publick prosperity; if there was private happiness and publick, in such new-formed Society, there would gradually arise an *Inequality* of Rank and Fortune.

We foresee, from recent experiment in a neighbouring country, that in the operation of bringing to pass such a transition, the lives and properties of all persons in this Island would be exposed to the arbitrary disposal of self-opinionated Philosophers, and a wild and needy Mob, deluded and instigated by them; that with the introduction of *Equality* in Rank and Fortune, an expectation would be raised in the Lower Orders, which must first be gratified with plunder, and afterwards would sink into a state of disappointment and abject poverty. When all were equalized, there would no longer be a superfluity to pay the hire of Servants, or purchase the productions of Art or Manufacture; no Commerce, no Credit; no resource for the active,

but in robbery, and in all those publick disorders which make life miserable. Thus would the present generation be certainly ruined; that which is to follow could not propose to itself a remedy, but in pursuing the same Arts of Peace which had been so capriciously abandoned; and the more they prospered in that pursuit, the more they would contribute to reproduce the Inequality which had been before condemned and exploded.—Where then are the Blessings of this Reform, and to what purpose is misery to be brought on the present Generation?

It is with grief we see that in a neighbouring country the carrying into practice of this wild doctrine of *Equality* and *the Rights of Man*, has already produced these evils, and others ten thousand times greater. It is not yet publickly known, nor can it enter into the gentle heart of a BRITON to conceive, the number of atrocious crimes against God and Man, that have been committed in support of these opinions. Murders and assassinations have been deliberately planned, and justified by some of these pretended philosophers, as the means to attain their ends of reform. With all their pretences and promises, they have proceeded to violate every right, Civil and Natural, that should have been observed towards their Equals;—the people, who have only changed their masters, groan under new tyrannies of which they never heard or dreamed; and are subjected to the chastisement of one desperate leader after another. The excesses of these ruffian Demagogues have no bounds; they have already surpassed the wildest phrenzies of Fanaticism, Superstition, and Enthusiasm; plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries;—imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed;—their philosophy is the idle talk of Schoolboys; and their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts.

Such are the *new lights* and the *false philosophy* of our pretended Reformers, and such the effects they have produced, where, alone, they have unfortunately been tried. But, however these poor pretences may have imposed on the understandings of men, in a neighbouring country, bred in ignorance, oppression, and poverty, they can have no influence on the good sense and gravity of Britons, who have been used to the enjoyment of true Liberty, and every day feel the blessings of abundance derived from a productive industry, protected by Equal Laws, and a free Government. It is well known, that those who are virtuous and honest have many more means of acquiring ease and comfort, wealth and distinction, and in a superior degree, in this

country than in any other ;—it is well known, that we already possess, and have long possessed, really and truly That which the pretended Reformers would persuade ignorant people *they* alone can bestow. It has been the pride of BRITONS to boast of their *Liberty* and *Property*; and although these visionary Reformers have chosen to substitute the notion of *Equality* in the place of the latter, it is trusted there are enough who know too well the value of their *Property*, acquired under the influence of true *Liberty*, to surrender it in exchange for an empty name. It is well known, and we feel it daily, that we have as much of these pretended new inventions, as is necessary and convenient for a well-ordered Society. Every one has all the *Rights of Man* that leave him at liberty to do good to himself and his neighbour, and (what is worth considering) to protect his person and property against open or secret plunderers. He has as much of *Equality* as one man can possess without diminishing the Equality of his neighbour. We are told by our Religion (for *We* have a Religion,) that we are *to do unto all men as we would that men should do unto us*; and this is realized to us by the firm administration of the Law; which suffers no injury to go without a remedy, and affords a remedy equally to the proudest and the poorest.

Such are *The Rights of Man*; such *The Liberty and Equality* which we have long enjoyed; under these we have lived and prospered, both in publick and private, beyond the example of any country: and to maintain them, as they are, unimpaired by the fancies of Pedant-Politicians, or the rude hands of Russian Levellers, every TRUE BRITON ought to shed his blood.

Impressed with these sentiments in favour of our happy Establishment, and alarmed by the mischievous endeavours, that are now using by wicked men, to mislead the uninformed, and to spirit up the discontented by furnishing them with plausible topicks, tending to the subversion of the State, and incompatible with all Government whatsoever:

We do, as private men, unconnected with any Party or description of persons at home, taking no concern in the struggles at this moment making abroad, but most seriously anxious to preserve the true *Liberty*, and unexampled prosperity we happily enjoy in this kingdom, think it expedient and necessary to form ourselves into an ASSOCIATION for the purpose of discouraging, in every way that lies in our power, the progress of such nefarious designs as are meditated by the wicked and senseless Reformers of the present time; and we do hereby resolve, and declare as follows:

FIRST—That the persons present at this Meeting do become a Society for discouraging and suppressing Seditious Publications, tending to disturb the Peace of this Kingdom, and for supporting a due execution of the Laws made for the protection of persons and property.

SECONDLY—That this Society do use its best endeavours occasionally to explain those topics of publick discussion which have been so perverted by evil-designing men, and to shew, by irrefragable proof, that they are not applicable to the State of this Country, that they can produce no good, and certainly must produce great evil.

THIRDLY—That this Society will receive with great thanks all communications that shall be made to it for the above purposes.

FOURTHLY—That it be recommended to all those, who are friends to the Established Law, and to peaceable Society, to form themselves, in their different neighbourhoods, into similar Societies for promoting the same laudable purposes.

FIFTHLY—That this Society do meet at this place or elsewhere, every TUESDAY, THURSDAY, and SATURDAY.

SIXTHLY—That these Considerations and Resolutions be printed in all the publick Papers, and otherwise circulated into all parts of the Kingdom.

By Order of the SOCIETY,

J. MOORE, *Secretary.*

N. B. All Letters and Communications are requested to be addressed to the Secretary at this place.

*At a MEETING of the SOCIETY at the CROWN
and ANCHOR TAVERN, November 24, 1792.*

JOHN REEVES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

UPON reading the CHARGE delivered by Mr. JUSTICE ASHURST to the Grand Jury in the Court of King's Bench this Term, it was resolved, That the same be immediately printed and distributed in various ways for the better instruction of all ranks of people in the value they ought

ought to set upon the good laws and government delivered down to us by our ancestors.

The letters daily received from persons who are desirous of assisting the views of this Society, are very numerous, and contain many useful communications. The writers of them are entitled to every acknowledgement; such as require private answers shall receive them from the Secretary, and it will soon be seen what use is made of some of the communications.

The Gentlemen of this Society cannot refrain from announcing once more how happy they are to find the numbers of those increase, who come forward to support the design of their Institution.

In consequence of a wish expressed by many, that an opening should be given for persons of all sorts to declare their desire of supporting so good a cause, a book has been opened at the Crown and Anchor for names to be set down, and it is now earnestly wished that all persons favourable to the present design, will signify it by inserting their names in such book.

One of the duties this Society has imposed on itself is to encourage persons to form familiar Societies in different parts of the town. it is much to be wished that a Society were formed in the City of London, another in Westminster, and another in the Borough. When those great Societies were formed, it might be considered, and would be seen by the effect of them, whether it would be necessary to make smaller Societies around them, to assist and co-operate.

It should seem, that the business of such Societies should be conducted by a Committee, and that the Committee should be small, as better adapted for dispatch of business; for it should be remembered, that these are not open Societies for talk and debate, but for private consultation and real business. The society at large need not meet more than once a month, or once in two or three months, to audit the accounts, and see to the application of the money. The object of such Societies should be to check the circulation of seditious publications of all kinds, whether newspapers or pamphlets, or the invitations to club-meetings, by discovering and bringing to justice not only the authors and printers of them, but those who keep them in shops, or hawk them in the streets for sale; or, what is much worse, are employed in circulating them from house to house in any manner whatever.

SECONDLY, They should by reasoning, and by circulating cheap books and papers, endeavour to undeceive those poor

people who have been mislead by the infusion of opinions dangerous to their own welfare and that of the State.

THIRDLY, They should hold themselves in readiness to prevent or suppress tumults or riots, if necessary.

LASTLY, It should be a part of the original compact of every such Society, that in what they mean to do, they shall always act in subordination to the Magistrate and the Executive Government, and in their aid and support, and not otherwise.

The Society, after full consideration of the nature of private meetings, formed with a design to take cognisance of what is transacted by the Executive and Legislative Powers of the country, are of opinion, that all such meetings are irregular. Such distinct and unharmonized centers have the effect of intercepting and drawing around themselves some of that force, and confidence of the people, which should pass on to their only true center, the constituted Executive and Legislative Authorities of the State. But when such an irregularity has been once permitted, and the balance of the system seems to be affected by it, the equilibrium perhaps cannot be more naturally restored, than by placing a counterpoise of the same sort on the other side.

Wicked men, by the means of Clubs and associations, have been spreading among the simple and ignorant, seditious opinions, destructive of good government, and the happiness of us all. Good men associate to counteract those evil designs, to support good government, and to continue to us our present happiness. To associate in the forms in which *they* do (as appears by their printed papers exhibited to this Society) is always seditious, and very often treasonable: they all appear to be offenders against the law. To meet, as is now proposed, for suppressing sedition, for propagating peaceable opinions, and for aiding the magistracy in subordination to the direction of the Magistrates—the law allows it, and the time requires it.

By Order of the Society,

JOHN MOORE, Secretary,

*At a MEETING of the SOCIETY at the CROWN and
ANCHOR TAVERN in the STRAND, November. 29,
1792,*

JOHN REEVES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

THE following Gentlemen are of the Committee for conducting the Business of this Society;

JOHN REEVES, Esq.

JOHN TOPHAM, Esq.

JOHN BOWLES, Esq.

JOHN ROBERTS, Esq.

ALEXANDER MAXWELL BENNET, Esq.

Mr. JOHN SEWELL.

PETER NOUAILLE, Esq.

THO. LAW, Esq.

Mr. JOHN SARGEAUNT.

JOHN THO. BATT, Esq.

Mr. GEO. POTTER.

CHA. TOWNSHEND, Esq.

Dr. HALIFAX.

Mr. ALEXANDER BRODIE,

Hon. G. HOBART.

THO. PLUMER, Esq.

C. YORKE, Esq.

GEORGE WARD, Esq.

W. DEVAYNES, Esq.

Resolved;

That this Committee do meet to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, for the dispatch of business.

By Order of the Society,

JOHN MOORE, Secretary.

*At the CROWN and ANCHOR TAVERN in the
STRAND, November 30, 1792,*

AT a Meeting of the Committee of this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. *in the Chair.*

Upon a view of the Considerations and Resolutions published by this Society, and in conformity to the Opinions
and

and Declarations therein contained, This Committee do hereby declare, that they will endeavour, by the circulation of cheap Publications, or otherwise, to cause those topics of publick discussion, which have been lately perverted by evil-designing men, to be explained, for undeceiving and informing those persons who have been misled and deluded by specious reasonings and false representations; and that they will use their best endeavours, in aid and support of the Civil Magistrates, to discourage and counteract all seditious Publications and attempts to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom.

In doing this, and in making the present declaration of their intention, they hope they shall induce others, who have the same wish with themselves to support the good Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom, and the Peace and Happiness of Society, to make similar exertions in their respective neighbourhoods for the like purposes. And it is further hoped, that by these means the Members of this Association will be better enabled, as it will become more particularly their duty, to assist in preserving publick order and tranquillity, in case of any attempt being made to disturb them.

Resolved,

That as a considerable pecuniary Fund will be necessary for carrying into effect the purposes of this Institution, the Committee will thankfully receive the voluntary Contributions of all those who are inclined to give their aid on the present occasion.

Resolved,

That Subscriptions be received by JOHN TOPHAM, Esq. the Treasurer, at his Chambers, in Grays Inn.

At the CROWN and ANCHOR, Strand; and at the following Bankers:

Messrs. DRUMMOND and Co. Charing-Cross.

Messrs. CHILD and Co. Temple-Bar.

SMITH, PAINE and SMITH, Mansion-House-street,
CROFTS, DEVAYNES, and Co. Pall-mall.

RANSOM, MORELAND and HAMMERSLEY,
Pall-mall.

VERE, LUCADOU, and Co. Lombard-street.

EDWARDS, SMITH, MIDDLETON and Co.
Stratford-place.

NIBLETT and JELFE, Gloucester.

Messrs. OGDEN, Salisbury.

CAM, WHITEHEAD, and Co. Bath.

Sir W. FORBES and Co. Edinburgh.

Resolved,

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Committee be given to JOHN REEVES, Esq. for the Zeal and Exertion which he has shewn in beginning and promoting this useful and well-timed Association.

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

At the CROWN and ANCHOR TAVERN, in the STRAND, December 1, 1792.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE,
JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Society be given to the Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR of LONDON, for his well-timed Activity and Exertion in Support of the Laws and Constitution.

This Society having been informed by S.W. Clayton, Esq. that an Institution upon the same Principles with this Association has been formed at Peckham; of which he is Chairman;

Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Society be given him for this Communication, and that he be requested to continue his Correspondence.

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

At a MEETING of the COMMITTEE at the CROWN and ANCHOR TAVERN, December 4, 1792.

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair.

THE following Address to the Publick on the present alarming crisis having been read, moved, and seconded,

Resolved,

That the same be published in all the newspapers.

“ At a time when the recent exertions of Government
“ confirm

“ confirm the reality of those dangerous designs formed in
 “ concert with persons in Foreign Parts, with a view to
 “ subvert the Laws and Constitution of this Realm, and to
 “ destroy all order and quiet therein—when there is every
 “ reason to believe, that among the considerable numbers of
 “ French lately arrived in this Metropolis, many of them
 “ hold regular correspondence and communication with
 “ various ill-disposed persons, in Clubs and other Meetings,
 “ instituted for the express purpose of overturning the laws
 “ and liberties of this Country ;—the Committee feel it to
 “ be their duty to warn all good Citizens to be watchful,
 “ and upon their guard, in order to detect and bring to
 “ justice such persons, whether Foreigners or British subjects,
 “ who appear to plot and contrive against the peace
 “ and good order of this happy Country. And the
 “ Committee therefore most earnestly recommend to all
 “ Magistrates and others, as well in this metropolis and
 “ its neighbourhood, as in the more distant parts of these
 “ united kingdoms, a firm and vigilant exercise of their
 “ duty, as Magistrates and as Citizens, in detecting and
 “ bringing to justice all those whom they find offending in
 “ the respects abovementioned.”

Resolved,

That This Committee, being persuaded that great mischief has been for some time past effected in this country by the circulation of Newspapers filled with *disloyalty and sedition*, the writers of which manifestly appear by their language to be in the pay of French emissaries, who wish to destroy our excellent Constitution, do earnestly recommend it to all good Subjects, whether Masters of Private Families, or Keepers of Inns, Taverns, or Coffee-Houses, to discontinue and discourage the use and circulation of all such disloyal and seditious Newspapers.

Resolved,

That Sir JOSEPH ANDREWS, Bart. be added to this Committee.

JOHN REEVES, Esq. Chairman.

Group

Crown and Anchor, December 6, 1792.

AT a SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE
of this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair.

This Committee considering that the great mischief produced by seditious and treasonable Libels is chiefly effected by selling them in shops, hawking them in the streets, and giving them away; and considering that the venders and carriers of such publications are generally acquainted with their contents, and evil design and tendency;

Resolved,

That a caution be hereby given to all sellers of Newspapers, Newscarriers, persons delivering hand-bills for club-meetings and the like, that if such papers are seditious or treasonable, *they* are also guilty, equally with the original publisher, printer, or author; and that it becomes them seriously to consider what are the Newspapers, papers of invitation to clubs and other meetings, which they sell, carry, or distribute, and whether they are of a nature to bring upon *them* the penalties of the law.

It appearing to this Committee, that evil-designing men, industriously and maliciously using means and instruments never before resorted to in this Country for spreading pernicious opinions, have addressed themselves principally to the manufacturing and labouring classes of people, and by pamphlets, hand-bills, and various other devices, have endeavoured to prejudice the minds of those persons against the King and Constitution, deluding them with false expectations that their condition will be bettered by the subversion of all distinctions of rank and property, and the introduction of Equality in their stead: It is

Resolved,

That it be recommended to all Masters of Families, all Master-Manufacturers, Traders and Others, to use their best endeavours to undeceive and inform their servants, their journeymen, their apprentices, their neighbours, and all persons whom they find misled and corrupted by such inflammatory and seditious writings or language; warning them, that if they maintain by word or by action treasonable and seditious principles, they will incur the penalties of the law; and further instructing them, that none of the hopes so
falsely

falsely and insidiously held out to them can be realized ; but that, on the contrary, such wicked attempts will tend to the destruction of all trade and manufactures, by which they are supported, when industrious ; and will destroy all the provision made for the poor, which they now enjoy ; when they become unfit for labour.

Resolved,

That the following Opinions from the Commentaries of the excellent Mr. Justice Blackstone, vol. iv. chap. 9. be published for the information of the ignorant, and as a caution to the unwary.

“ If a party apprised of any treason does not, as soon as
“ conveniently may be, reveal it to some judge of assize,
“ or justice of the peace, he is guilty of *mispriison of treason* ;
“ which is punished by the loss of the profits of lands
“ during life, forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment during
“ life.

“ But if there be any probable circumstances of assent ;
“ as if one goes to a treasonable meeting, knowing before-
“ hand that a conspiracy is intended against the king ; or
“ being in such company once by accident, and having
“ heard such treasonable conspiracy, meets the same com-
“ pany again, and hears more of it, but conceals it ; this
“ is an implied assent in law, and makes the concealer guilty
“ of actual high treason.

“ Contempts and misprisings against the king’s *person* and
“ *government* may be by speaking or writing against them,
“ cursing or wishing him ill, giving out scandalous stories
“ concerning him, or doing any thing that may tend to
“ lessen him in the esteem of his subjects, may weaken his
“ government, or may raise jealousies between him and his
“ people. It has been also held an offence of this species
“ to drink to the pious memory of a traitor ; these being acts
“ which impliedly encourage Rebellion.

“ For these species of contempt, a man may not only be
“ fined and imprisoned, but suffer the pillory, or other in-
“ famous corporal punishment.”

This Committee, fully sensible of the many kind and interesting Communications which they continually receive from various quarters, return thanks to their Correspondents, whose hints will be thankfully received, and carefully attended to. In the mean time it is hoped that the variety of important business which occupies the Committee, will furnish an excuse for their not returning immediate answers to each letter which they may receive.

Books are opened at the Crown and Anchor for the Entry of Names, as well as the Receipt of Subscriptions.

N: B. All Communications to this Society are desired to be addressed to the Chairman at this place.

CROWN AND ANCHOR, December 11, 1792.
AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of
 this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. Chairman.

Complaints having been made of the licentiousness of certain Print-shops, wherein libellous pictures and engravings are daily exhibited, to the great scandal and offence of his Majesty's loyal and affectionate Subjects:

Resolved,

That by way of caution to the proprietors of those shops, the following authorities, shewing the illegality and dangerous consequence of such procedure, be published.

"A libel, *libellus famosus, sine scriptis*, may be, first, *picturis*; as to paint the party in any shameful and ignominious manner.—5. Co. 125.

"The notion of a libel may be applied to any defamation whatsoever, expressed either by signs or pictures."—Hawking's Pleas of the Crown, Book I. ch. 73.

"A libel is a contumely or reproach, published to the defamation of the Government, of a Magistrate, or of a private person; and it may be without writing; as by making a picture in an ignominious manner, or by an ignominious sign, to the reproach of another."—Lord Chief Baron Comyns' Digest, Libel. A.

"Malicious defamations of any persons, especially a Magistrate, made publick by either printing, writing, signs or pictures, in order to expose him to publick hatred, contempt, or ridicule, are punishable as libels." Blackst. Com. Book IV. ch. 11.

Resolved,

That THOMAS PITT, Esq. and the Rev. ROBERT NARES, be added to this Committee.

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

CROWN AND ANCHOR December 12, 1792.

AT a SPECIAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair.

The Committee can delay no longer to express the extreme satisfaction with which they observe the universal spirit of loyalty to the King, and of zealous attachment to the Constitution, displayed in every part of the kingdom. The declarations which have been made by so many respectable bodies, voluntarily uniting for the purpose of suppressing sedition, and supporting our excellent Constitution as by law established, are something more than testimonies of the publick opinion; they inspire confidence, and they furnish strength, to resist every attempt at disturbing the publick peace, and to aid the Executive Power and the Magistrates in preserving it. The efforts that have thus been made have already produced much; the disaffected have felt the resistance; they are diverted, it is hoped, from pursuing their designs in the way that was intended; but this has added to their former malignity the rage of disappointment: It is, therefore, highly necessary that good subjects should persevere in maintaining the same spirit and front which produced the first check; and it is most earnestly recommended, that the different parishes which have not yet united, will immediately proceed to form themselves into Societies, after the examples of those already instituted. It is by such union, and readiness to act, that Britons will be enabled to preserve and transmit to their children that Constitution and domestick happiness, which they received from their ancestors; which has always distinguished them above all the nations of the earth; and which they have, on the present occasion, most generally and most energetically declared they prefer to all others; firmly believing, as they do, from the reasonings of the best politicians, confirmed by their own experience, that a free Monarchy, like their own, is the best form of a free Constitution that ever was devised by the Wisdom of Man.

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ASSOCIATION
FOR PRESERVING
LIBERTY AND PROPERTY
AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS,
CONTINUED,
FROM DECEMBER 12, 1792, TO JUNE 21, 1793.

NUMBER II.

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, STRAND,

JANUARY 11, 1793.

AT a GENERAL MEETING of the COMMITTEE of this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair,

RESOLVED,

I. That the public Declaration of a whole People in
favour of their Established Government, and the particular
expressions of Zeal, Loyalty, and Attachment to our
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excellent Constitution, under King, Lords, and Commons, published by the various loyal Associations and other Meetings throughout this Kingdom, are too honourable to them, and to the cause which they support, to be left in scattered papers to the disposal of time and chance.

II. That in conformity to a former Resolution of the 14th of December 1792, these Declarations ought to be collected, as a Memorial to the present Generation, an Example and Instruction to Posterity.

III. That for these purposes this Committee having directed a Collection of such Declarations to be made, and regularly continued, will cause the whole to be immediately prepared for Publication.

IV. That Mr. DEBRETT, Bookseller in Piccadilly, having, on the 31st of December last, submitted to the Committee Proposals for publishing such Collection as soon as the same shall be completed ; He be furnished with the materials collected for that purpose,

V. That though the nature and limits of our trust do not authorize us to employ any part of the fund committed to our care in such a work, yet we will individually give it every support in our power, and we have therefore ordered for our own private use, and at our own expence, ONE HUNDRED COPIES.

VI. That in order to render this Collection as perfect as possible, the Committee earnestly request of such Chairmen of the several Associations, Societies, and other Meetings for the support of the King and Constitution throughout the Kingdom as have not already done them that honour, to transmit copies of their respective Resolutions to this Society.

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD.
CROWN

That the public Declaration of a whole People in favour of their established Government, and the particular exertions of the London Association, for the support of the King and Constitution, are a valuable and important example to the whole Kingdom.

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN; STRAND;

FEBRUARY 8, 1793.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of this
SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair;

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

That circumstances have arisen which make it expedient to publish the following Resolution and Minute from among the Proceedings entered February 1, 1793.

“ A Letter was read from THOMAS LAW, Esq. avowing that the Letter signed T. Law, in the Morning Chronicle of the 24th of January 1793, was inserted with his consent.

“ RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

“ That the Name of Thomas Law, Esq. be struck out of the List of this Committee:

“ The Committee are sorry they are under the necessity of coming to such a Resolution with regard to one of their Members; but it appears to them that the harmony which should be preserved in any Society, can never subsist without an entire confidence in every one of its Members; and this they think can no longer be reposed in a Person, who publishes in a common Newspaper any thing that relates to what passes at their Meetings.

“ With respect to that Gentleman's Proposal (in which he stood single) to burn all Letters from anonymous Correspondents; merely because they were such; the Committee continue to hold the same Opinion they then did; and which they believe is the Opinion held by most Persons who ever thought upon the subject. They have
“ always

“ always treated anonymous information as an individual
 “ would treat it; if it appeared probable, and of a nature
 “ that deserved notice, they have thought it might be made
 “ a ground of enquiry; if otherwise, that it should be dis-
 “ regarded entirely. In acting thus, they believe they have
 “ discharged the duty of good Citizens, as well as that of Per-
 “ sons who have associated for the express purpose of de-
 “ fending the Laws and Constitution of their Country.”

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, STRAND,

MARCH 8, 1793.

AT a GENERAL MEETING of the COMMIT-
 TEE of this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair,

RESOLVED,

That as this Association has now subsisted for more than three months, the Committee think it their duty to lay before the Public the following Declaration.

At the time when this Association was formed, the minds of men were agitated, universally, by a just alarm, arising from the observation that, contrary to all imaginable possibility, there existed in this happy country Societies of Men capable of admiring the horrors of French anarchy, and of desiring to plunge us into equal wretchedness; that the Emis-saries of France were very numerous, and active to seduce the people and excite them to insurrection.

It was thought, however, and particularly by the persons who formed this Association, that if men of good and steady principles would boldly shew themselves determined to support the Rights, the Laws, and Liberties of Britons, the true num-

numbers of our domestic Enemies would quickly be exposed, and the terror of uncertainty removed, by the general approbation with which such efforts would be received, and the zeal with which they would be imitated. This supposition the event has justified so happily, that in every district of the Country, and in every parish of the Capital, good and loyal subjects have united on similar principles. Towards producing this effect, the Members of this Association will remember with satisfaction, that they stood forth the foremost, and have persevered among the most zealous.

But, in performing this duty towards their country, they had, of course, to expect, that they must incur the enmity and attract the malignity of those who were desirous of disturbing the public peace; of those, whose plots and machinations would be thus confounded. It has therefore been without the smallest degree of surprise that the Committee have seen, in prints devoted to the cause of mischief, their designs misrepresented, their proceedings cavilled at, and their characters traduced. Such censure, and such misrepresentation, being always aimed at those who most successfully resist the ill deligning, are rather marks of honourable distinction, than any subject of regret.

The cry attempted to be raised concerning the Liberty of the Press, as if that inestimable privilege could be endangered by the enforcement of wholesome laws against the gross abuses of it, is as irrelevant to the purposes of such Associations as injurious to the persons that compose them; who, uniting for the purpose of preserving the constitutional Rights of Britons, would be the last to take a step that could endanger one of the most important of those Rights.

Anxious in all their principles, and in the most minute particulars, to conform themselves exactly to those laws, in aid of which and for the love of which they have alone desired to act, the Committee have with the most cordial satisfaction perceived, that in their favour have been given the most clear and unequivocal opinions of personages the most eminent for professional knowledge, for wisdom, and integrity. The difference of assembling to preserve the public peace, or to disturb it, has been recognized by every voice but that of faction.

Endeavours

Endeavours have been used, among other arts, to raise suspicions against this Committee, as if they had taken steps dangerous to private characters. To these insinuations, however, they can reply with sincerity, that though they have esteemed it their duty to receive all materials offered to their aid, they have always entertained as scrupulous a caution with respect to anonymous communications as was consistent with the important objects they had in view. The truth is, they have confined their chief exertions to the publication and distribution of such writings as appeared to them most fit to counteract the poison of seditious and inflammatory papers, long circulated with such pernicious diligence: and though it has been attempted, most preposterously, to represent the circulation of works recommending peace, good order, obedience to the laws, and attachment to the Constitution, as no less iniquitous than the distribution of seditious papers, yet in this, as well as in every other necessary exertion, they intend to persevere.

JOHN REEVES, Chairman.

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, STRAND;

MARCH 15, 1793.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of this
SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair;

RESOLVED,

That the Thanks of this Committee be given to
ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. for his Pamphlet entitled;
"THE

“ THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE A WARNING to BRITAIN ;” in which he has successfully opposed the Testimony of Facts and Experience to the hazardous Speculations of visionary Theorists in Matters of Government.

CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, STRAND,

JUNE 21, 1793,

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of this SOCIETY,

JOHN REEVES, Esq. in the Chair,

RESOLVED,

That the single Numbers of PUBLICATIONS, and of TRACTS, which have been printed from Time to Time at the Expence of this Society, be collected into a Volume; and that the Paper now proposed to this Committee for a PREFACE, together with the printed PROCEEDINGS of this SOCIETY, be prefixed thereto, and that the Whole be published without Delay.

✂ All COMMUNICATIONS to this SOCIETY are desired to be addressed to the CHAIRMAN at this Place.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
January 1, 1891.

REPORT OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1890.

ALBANY:
J. B. LEECH, PRINTER.

1891.

RECEIVED

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
January 1, 1891.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
January 1, 1891.

PUBLICATIONS
Printed at the expence of
THE SOCIETY
FOR PRESERVING
LIBERTY AND PROPERTY
AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER I.

CONTAINING,

Mr. Justice Ashhurst's Charge to the Grand Jury, for the County of Middlesex: — A Word in Season to the Traders and Manufacturers of Great-Britain.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Warehouse*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill; J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly; and HOOKAM and CARPENTER, Bond-Street.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

MR. JUSTICE ASHHURST'S CHARGE.

TO

The GRAND JURY for the County of Middlesex.

THE following CHARGE delivered by Judge ASHHURST to the GRAND JURY for the County of Middlesex, assembled in the Court of KING'S BENCH, on Monday the 19th of November, 1792, breathes so much the SPIRIT of the ENGLISH LAW, and is so well suited to CURB the LICENTIOUS SPIRIT of the TIMES, that it must be read with Heart-felt Satisfaction by every true ENGLISHMAN—to whose Perusal it is strongly recommended.

“ *Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,*

“ I HAVE the honour to meet you upon the stated return of this solemnity for putting in execution the Criminal Law, and bringing such offenders to justice, as by their crimes have subjected themselves to the punishment which the Law ordains. Gentlemen. There is no Nation in the world that can boast of a more perfect System of Govern-

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ment than that under which we have the happiness to live, where no man is so high as to be above the reach of the Law, and no man so low as not to be within its protection; where the Power of the Crown (on the one hand) and the Liberty of the Subject (on the other) are both effectually secured, and at the same time kept within their proper limits.

“ The Law of this Country only lays such restraints on the actions of individuals as are necessary for the safety and good order of the Community at large; and such restraints are so far from being infringements on Civil Liberty, that Civil Liberty could not subsist without them: for if every man was left to the free and uncontrouled exercise of his own will (as in a state of Nature,) no man could be secure in his person or property, and the weak would be a prey to the stronger hand; but in a state of Civil Government, each individual grows strong in the strength of the Community.

“ Gentlemen, It is Civil Liberty that is the parent of Industry, and consequently of Wealth; for in a state of Nature, as there was no security to property, no man thought of appropriation, further than for the momentary supply of his immediate necessities: but when men have formed themselves into a state of civil society, the consciousness which every man feels that his property is secure, induces to habits of industry; he does not bound his pursuits to the mere supply of his present wants, but looks forward to future ages; mutual wants put men upon finding out the means of mutual supply; this gives rise to trade and commerce, and extends men's connections beyond the narrow circles of their own immediate families and friends; and thus from mutual wants spring mutual happinesses.

“ But, Gentlemen, as a preliminary step to procuring these enjoyments, it was necessary that mankind (on entering into Society) should give up into the hands of the governing power of the State, that Species of Liberty which resulted from a perfect equality in all men, and where no man had a right to impose upon another a rule of conduct, but each man (as far as his strength would carry him through) followed the dictates of his own will. A state of society cannot subsist without subordination. There must be general rules laid down by the governing power of the State (wherever it resides) as the standard by which men's actions are to be measured and regulated, so as to prevent them from being injurious to the rights and happiness of their fellow-citizens: And there must be a coercive power (residing in such hands as the Constitution has thought fit to place it) to enforce

enforce such laws and rules of action as the wisdom of the State has thought fit to prescribe. Happily for us, we are not bound by any laws but such as are ordained by the virtual consent of the whole Kingdom, and which every man has the means of knowing: If men judged rightly, they would be persuaded that their happiness, as well as their security, depends upon a due observance and support of the laws. There will however (even in the best formed systems of Government) always be found men of selfish and corrupt principles, who forsake the paths of honest industry, and prefer the shorter road of supplying their wants and extravagancies by rapine and spoil; when that is the case, it becomes necessary for the coercive power of the State to lend its restraining hand, and to punish the offender; and if the offence is of so flagrant a nature, that there is no hope of the reformation of the offender, there it is necessary that the corrupted member should be cut off, to prevent others from being contaminated by his example.

“ But (though crimes must not go unpunished) we may venture to boast, that (in the administration of the Criminal Law) no Nation has ever been so careful of the Lives and Liberty of the Subject, or has made such humane provisions to insure the most careful investigation of the imputed Crime, as that in which we live. The ordaining a preliminary Inquest of Inquiry (by means of a Grand Jury composed of men of the first rank and figure in the county), is a guard and caution unknown in any other country. And when they have so far given their sanction to the proceeding, as to pronounce it a matter fit for further inquiry, the privilege which the party accused enjoys, of having the matter tried before a Jury of his equals, with liberty to except to any of them that he may think likely to be prejudiced against him, is the most valuable birth-right of an Englishman. The law is no less careful in protecting men's civil rights and properties; and I hope I may add, that there is no Nation where the Law is more uprightly and impartially administered, than in ours. For these blessings we are indebted to the wise and prudent form of our Constitution: and that security (which naturally results from well regulated laws) has been a spur to industry, and has occasioned our commerce to be extended beyond the example of former ages. And whoever will take the trouble of making the enquiry, will find, that in every manufacturing county in the Kingdom, the demand for their manufactures is greater than they are able to supply. Such is the flourishing state of the Kingdom, and such the happy fruits of Liberty and Peace.

“ One should suppose there was not a man in the Kingdom who did not feel this, and who did not feel it with a grateful heart. And yet there are men of dark and gloomy hearts (men who have themselves neither fortune nor character to lose), who would wish to overturn the venerable fabrick of our Constitution (which has been the work and pride of Ages, which has been revered at home, and been the envy of surrounding Nations), and to give in return a state of universal Anarchy and Confusion.

“ There have been publications in which the Author disclaims all ideas of Subordination, as contrary to the natural rights and equality of mankind, and recommends the example of a neighbouring Nation as a model for our imitation.

“ Alas ! Humanity is called upon to pity the deplorable situation of that country ; but it is a very ill chosen example, to hold forth to a Nation in the most flourishing state of happiness ; and it is a pretty extraordinary request, that we would (with our eyes open) plunge ourselves into the same abyss of misery.

“ One might naturally have expected, that doctrines so monstrous and nonsensical, would have been treated with the contempt they deserved, and would have sunk into oblivion.

“ But when one finds that tenets so wild and extravagant are taken up by formed Societies of men, who meet for the express purpose of disseminating such doctrines, that they should hold regular correspondence with other similar Societies at home (as well as in a neighbouring Nation), it is time for every soberminded man, and every well-wisher to the safety and prosperity of the Country (as much as in him lies), to endeavour to crush such unconstitutional and pernicious doctrines.

“ Gentlemen, His Majesty (who is always anxious for and watchful over the safety and prosperity of his country, did some time ago issue his Royal Proclamation, which well deserves the attention of every good Subject ; and I fear the circumstances which gave rise to the Proclamation are not yet so totally at an end, as to make it unseasonable for me to recal it to your recollection. Gentlemen, His Majesty in that Proclamation states, *That, &c.* (Here the Judge recited the principal Heads of the Proclamation).

“ Gentlemen, I cannot help expressing the happiness I feel, that his Majesty's Proclamation has been received by his Subjects with all due marks of respect and attention ; and there are scarce any parts of the Kingdom that have not
(in

(in their Addresses to His Majesty) expressed their hatred and abhorrence of such pernicious doctrines, and shewn that they are not to be duped out of their happiness by the shallow artifices of such men, who (having nothing to lose) would wish to enrich themselves by the destruction of all Government, and the substituting anarchy and confusion in the place of it.

“Gentlemen, The Officers of the Crown have taken all due pains to bring such offenders to Justice as have come to their knowledge, and I have no doubt but such offenders will meet with due punishment for their Crimes. But as the evil has not yet ceased, and these sowers of sedition are still abroad, we ought not to content ourselves with merely withing well to the prosperity of the Kingdom, but every honest man and well-wisher to his country ought to stand forth, and shew as much zeal and activity in supporting the Cause of Order and good Government, as these wicked Emissaries do in endeavouring to subvert it.

“Gentlemen, I trust I am addressing myself to a Grand Jury, composed of men, who have sense and understanding enough to know how to set a due value on the blessings they enjoy. And therefore I earnestly recommend it to such of you as are in a private station, to endeavour by your example to discountenance all such unconstitutional tenets; and to such of you as are invested with the office of Magistracy, that you would endeavour to bring all such offenders to justice, who openly avow, and by printed publications endeavour to justify, such seditious and unconstitutional doctrines as I have above alluded to, and are noticed in his Majesty's Proclamation.

“Gentlemen, I shall not take up any more of your time, but recommend it to you with all dispatch to proceed on the public service you are engaged in; and I doubt not, but that you will discharge your duty in a manner honourable to yourselves, and such as will merit the thanks of your country.”

A

WORD IN SEASON
TO THE
TRADERS AND MANUFACTURERS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BEFORE I enter upon the subject, the consideration of which has, for some time, employed all my thoughts, it may be proper to inform you, that my life has been passed among yourselves, in the midst of a flourishing manufacturing country. My surprize, therefore, that any attempts should be made to produce discontents among the trading, commercial, and manufacturing part of my countrymen, to whom tranquillity and good order are so essentially requisite, can only yield to the astonishment. I shall feel if such attempts should find the least success among them.

The leisure of my present life qualifies me to consider, with attention, the means employed to sow discontents among you, as well as the character and views of the persons who are so busy in employing them; and, for your information, as well as, I hope, for your conviction and advantage, I have undertaken to offer my opinion of them, and their probable mischievous consequences, to your most serious consideration.

The persons who compose the societies, and who have established them, as they announce the matter, for constitutional reformation, are men, I am not afraid to say, of weak heads, of bad hearts, or desperate fortunes. The first class are certainly the best—who, with good intentions, are persuaded and deceived by artful and wicked men of superior understanding, into a co-operation with them in promoting designs which were they to succeed, would give a very deep wound to the happiness of this country.

The second class—consists of persons of considerable talents, who, under the influence of a factious spirit, are engaged in attempts to promote public confusion, in order to realize the dreams of their unprincipled ambition. For, believe

lieve me, if these men, or men of the same pernicious dispositions, were, by any violent convulsion of public affairs, to get into power, you would find a woeful difference between these upstart rulers and your present mild government.

The third class—is composed of the most abandoned characters: who having dissipated their fortunes in every species of vicious excess, would rejoice in national disturbance, on the same principle that thieves and pickpockets rejoice at a fire, as it gives them an opportunity of alleviating their distresses by rapine and plunder.

The means which these societies, and the individuals who take the lead in them, employ to promote their wicked and incendiary purposes, though directed ultimately to the same object, vary their course to the attainment of it:—some, with a daring outrage of all decency, with an audacity that seems to tempt the cognizance of the law, hold forth to you a conduct which would involve you in prosecution, and end in punishment; while others, in the form of sober reasoning and dispassionate inquiry, artfully endeavour to undermine and weaken those principles of due submission to Government which are the great support and security of national happiness.—I shall consider them both in their order.

The first do not hesitate to tell you, that under your present Government you have no Constitution, and that the Revolution at the close of the last century (by which you have hitherto been so ignorant as to believe, that what you thought an admirable Constitution was restored and confirmed, and from which period you and your ancestors have felt yourselves free and happy) was an artful and tyrannic contrivance to delude the people out of their rights, in order to gratify the ambition of those men who projected and brought it to a conclusion. They will tell you that all Kings must be tyrants; and, therefore, a scourge to all Free Governments; that your House of Lords is the servile and abject support of regal tyranny, and should therefore be annihilated; and that your House of Commons does not contain an adequate representation of the people; and that, if it did, the members of it are so corrupt, that it cannot represent you as it ought; and that, such being the present state of the Government of this country, the people ought to arise as one man to pull the King from the throne, degrade the nobles from their rank, dissolve the representative body of the nation, and form a Government for themselves:—and, to add to the insult they thus offer to your understanding as reasonable beings, they hold forth the Revolution of France as an example for your imitation.

Extreme wickedness, very fortunately for mankind, is generally observed to outwit itself. Thus the men who broach these pernicious doctrines, are so blinded by their passions, as to give their mischief a shape that perverts the end for which it was projected.

As for the blessings which the people of England would derive from following the example of France, let us for a moment consider, by way of recommendation, the actual blessings which the French themselves enjoy, in consequence of their boasted Revolution.

Their King is himself a captive—in what is called a land of liberty.

Their National Assembly is a mob.

Their arrets, their decrees, and their laws, are changed every hour, as the caprice of the moment or the violence of the populace directs.

Their revenue is so inadequate to their expenditure, as to demand the ruinous expedient of millions of paper money, which is already forty per cent. beneath its original value; while their new coin vanishes in its passage to circulation, because every one hoards what he can get of it in a time of such universal distrust.

Their army (if an armed rabble can be called so) is deserted by the flower of its officers, and their navy incapable of exertion.

Their ancient nobility is degraded—their clergy pillaged—their commerce almost annihilated—and their colonies in a rapid progress to ruin.

Property, personal security, liberty, and life, are equally endangered; as neither their laws or their magistrates have sufficient strength or power to punish theft, robbery, or murder.

The empire at large is convulsed and torn to pieces by contending factions, and daily stained with blood from riots, insurrections, and massacres.

To supply the deficiency of taxes, the church has been robbed of its possessions, and the very altars pillaged of their ornaments.

Religion, which is formed to support us amidst the sorrow of time, and to qualify us for the happiness of eternity; Religion, that sublime principle, which more immediately connects man with his Maker, is now subdued in France by the influence of an infidel philosophy, under the name of Universal Toleration, while perjury is the only road to ecclesiastical preferment, and conscience and piety the certain conductors to poverty, to derision, and to contempt.

But

But these, it is said, are only petty evils when compared with the blessings which accompany them, and that, after all, the subjects of France are a free people.

Yes,—the gentleman of landed property may call himself free, but, at the very moment he is boasting of his freedom, his castle may be seized by the banditti of his neighbourhood, and the walls of it stained with his blood.

The merchant may boast of the fulness of liberty; but his warehouses are empty, his correspondents are silent, his capital is lost, and his credit is gone.

The tradesman may sit in his shop and delight himself with the idea that he is a free man—but he sells nothing.

The artist may exclaim—liberty is the friend of genius, the encourager of the arts—but alas! it has not left him a single patron.

The manufacturer may be elated that his country is blessed with freedom; but the fire blazes no more on his forge, and the useless loom is occupied by the spider's web.

The pious man is grateful for the enjoyment of liberty—but scarce knows where to find an altar before which he can offer his thanksgiving according to the religion of his fathers.

It is true, indeed, that a great part of the National Assembly may justly say, this liberty is an inestimable blessing, for we were poor and it has made us rich—we were almost without bread, and it has given us sumptuous tables—we were forced to obey laws which the authority of Government had made for us, and we are now empowered to disobey those laws which we make for others—we were compelled to submit to every officer of the state, we now make them obedient to our commands, and tread upon the necks of Kings.

Such are the comforts of a Revolution which Mr. Paine and his adherents recommend to your imitation; a Revolution which, while it has plunged France into every distress that can befall a nation, gives a few uncertain, ruinous, and short-lived privileges to a small band of the most worthless people in it. These are the consequences of a Revolution brought on by mad, tumultuous, unreflecting, popular insurrections, excited and fomented by factious clubs and societies; and who alone, of twenty-five millions of people, are in any degree the gainers, if gainers they can, with truth, be called, by this general calamity.

If any thing were wanting to enforce these considerations, it would be the contrast formed by your own condition. You cannot open your eyes but you must see it; you cannot listen but you must hear it; you cannot reflect a moment
but

but you must feel it. Equally free from the opposite extremes of misery which France has successively experienced, you neither groan under the oppression of arbitrary power, nor tremble at the madness and fury of popular confusion. Your King is neither himself in chains, nor does he hold his subjects in bondage. With dignity sufficient to command respect, with power sufficient to enforce obedience, his authority is limited by the law, which is equally binding upon him and upon the meanest of his subjects.

The supreme legislative power he holds only in conjunction with the two Houses of Parliament, and each of the three branches of our Government forms an useful and salutary check on the other.

The House of Lords is composed either of an ancient nobility, qualified by rank, education, and property, and inheriting from their ancestors an attachment to the constitution;—or of those selected, from time to time, from the orders of the church and the law, from the professions of the navy and army, or from the rest of the laity, and advanced by the Crown by their piety, their learning, their valour, or their services.

The House of Commons is chosen by the great bulk of the freeholders in counties, and by different cities and boroughs in the kingdom, according to the several forms which charters or ancient custom has established. It, therefore, not only represents the great mass of landed property, but it has an immediate connection with property of every description. It consists of a mixture of persons chosen by the monied and mercantile interests—by the manufacturer and mechanic—of those whose fortunes have been originally acquired, or are still embarked in trade. From the manner in which the right of election is distributed, an opening is offered to every man who rises to eminence in his own line, whose situation makes him respectable, or whose talents render him useful to the publick. Hence it is, that even the places which have no immediate and separate representative, can never be at a loss to find those who have a common interest with themselves.—No part of the country, no corner of the kingdom, feels itself neglected or forgotten;—a communication is established through all the classes of society, and not only every description of men, but every individual in this country, who feels himself aggrieved, may find his way to parliament, and is sure of an advocate and a friend. In questions of general concern, not only the interest of the people is consulted, but their prevailing wishes and sentiments have a due weight, when tempered and corrected by calm and sober reflection. Parliament will be guided,

guided, as it ought, by the steady current of publick opinion. But it will neither yield to the cry of a misguided populace, nor shift and turn with every gust of the varying passions of the day. This it is which distinguishes the gravity, the consistency, the wisdom, of deliberative bodies, from the levity and inconsistency of republican assemblies. This forms the great excellence of our constitution, and establishes the difference between the confusion and anarchy of wild and turbulent democracies, and the settled course and order of a free, but well regulated government. If we proceed to examine the details of our situation, we trace every where the natural effects of a steady and regular system.

Look first at the means of national defence, one of the primary ends of all political society.

Our navy, the natural bulwark of a commercial country, and to which we chiefly owe our pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, was never in so flourishing or formidable a condition; our military establishment, small in time of peace, contains, nevertheless, the foundation of a force sufficient, in case of emergency, to repel and resent the attacks of our enemies: our officers and soldiers are equally distinguished for their valour, their fidelity, and their discipline; they have a common interest with ourselves, and feel no attachment but to their sovereign and the law. Consider the state of the Established Church, and you will find it to be maintained and supported on principles of moderation: power and trust are confined, as they must necessarily be, to those who join in the national religion; but, at the same time, a free toleration is granted, to every different sect of Christians, and the rights of private opinion and liberty of conscience are held as sacred and inviolate. Observe the progress of national wealth; the load of publick debt, by a wise and æconomical system, is continually decreasing; the revenue is augmented, not by new taxes, but by the effects of general prosperity; some of the heaviest burthens, which irresistible necessity had imposed upon us, are already diminished, and every year of tranquillity will afford us an increasing relief; even at present, how little have the publick taxes interfered with industry or trade: within a few years our commerce is nearly doubled, and is still rapidly increasing; while our ships convey the produce of our united skill and labour to every part of the globe, where the winds can waft and the waves can bear them. The confirmed and advancing state of our credit, the increasing facility of circulation, the extent, the variety, and the perfection of our manufactures, are the astonishment, the admiration, and the envy of the world. In this happy situation, the mild

system of our laws, and the impartial administration of justice, secure to every man, according to the station he occupies, his full share in the general prosperity, and equally protects the rights, the fortunes, and the interests of the highest and the lowest among us.

If this is a true picture of our actual situation; if these are the effects of our existing constitution and form of government, supported as it is by a general love of order, a just sense of our present advantage, and an habitual submission to our established laws, what will you think of those men who, in the form of sober reasoning, with the appearance of dispassionate inquiry, and in the language of temperate patriotism, endeavour to undermine those principles of subordination which at once form and secure the national happiness? These men are far more dangerous than those I have before mentioned, because they make their approaches in the seducing form of publick virtue; their associations are made without tumult, and their addresses to the people recommend moderation; and contain, for the purpose of disguising their intentions, some maxims of sound political doctrine, and breathe a patriotick attachment to the constitution of their country: they profess to amend, and not to destroy; to renovate, and not to injure. Their publick resolutions, which are disseminated by newspapers, hand-bills, and pamphlets through every part of the kingdom, are always formed upon certain general principles and abstract propositions, of which some may be true, and others may have a specious appearance; but it will be discovered, on examination, that when the principles are well founded their application is erroneous, and that the result is neither consistent with any practical notion of government, nor with the peace and order of society.

As their opinions point to the redress of evils which will arise in the best constituted governments, and those political defects which, from the incidental imperfection of all human institutions, must be found in the best regulated states, they are felt by all, though understood by few; and therefore, by representing these evils as produced by the acquired defects of government, and not by its inevitable imperfections arising out of the general nature of human affairs, an undistinguished spirit of discontent may be raised, and, being artfully fomented, may prove a powerful engine to promote the views of these factious associations.

To the whole course of reasoning, of which I have now been speaking, I answer at once, that theory is one thing, and that practice is another; that many things which appear excellent in theory, cannot be reduced to practice; and that

it requires a considerable share of understanding, and the habits of experience, to determine between the one and the other. There is no doubt but a perfect system of laws and government may be conceived; but to be perfect in their application and effects, they must be put in execution by beings of a superior nature to man. We are very fallible creatures, as the first and best of us know; and the society which we compose, must partake of our imperfections: and therefore, before we venture to become discontented with the government under which we live, because it is not absolutely pure and perfect, it would be a proof of our wisdom to consider, how far we ourselves, who propose to correct its errors and improve its energies, are in possession of purity and perfection. While men are men, the institutions they form will be liable to error and perversion.

You have, no doubt, heard much of late about the Rights of Man, and are, perhaps, acquainted with the arguments promulgated, with no common art, to persuade Englishmen that they do not enjoy any of them. This doctrine of the Rights of Man is supported on the principle that all men are equal by nature, and that no one class has a real claim to privileges which are not the common possession of all.—That all men are, in some respects, equal by nature, cannot be denied; they all come into the world naked and helpless; they all cling to the breast for sustenance, and, after passing through the portion of life which the Universal Parent has allotted them, they retire to the common home which Nature has prepared for all her children.—But in the interval from the cradle to the grave, social life forbids this equality.—The strong and the feeble are not equal—the wise and the ignorant are not equal.

The difference is in corporeal strength and intellectual faculties, which are inequalities produced by Nature herself, are as absolute exceptions to this principle, as the artificial variations which necessarily arise from a state of society. We cannot be all masters or all servants; wealth will be the lot of some, and labour and poverty of others. Those distinctions will arise from the unconquerable nature of things, which promote the union, and form the security of social life.

The first and primitive relations from which those forms and establishments are derived by which society is preserved, that of parent and child, produce at once the power of command and the duty of obedience.

That a society could be formed where all rights and all privileges should be reciprocal, is not within the reach of my reason to comprehend, at least of this I am sure, that,
if

if these preachers of the levelling doctrine of equality had the power to reduce their equalizing principles to practice, they must follow up their destruction of all the old forms of government, by proscribing from their political system not only the arts and sciences, but all trade, manufactures and commerce.

Whatever promotes an exertion of the intellectual faculties, whatever encourages a spirit of enterprize, whatever tends to the acquisition of fortune or of fame, must be forbidden by their confined legislation.

Those who live under such a government must be all rulers and subjects, teachers and pupils, masters and servants, judges and executioners, in their turn.

If these are the Rights of Man, I am ready to admit that our constitution is formed on no such basis; but I may venture to assert, what indeed, it appears to me, I have already proved, that there is no one right which a reasonable man would wish to enjoy, that you do not possess under the existing government of your country.—You have every right but the right of doing wrong. I speak, always, with the reserve of human imperfection, but, appealing to the description which I have before given of your situation, and which I call on yourselves to witness;—let me ask you, If you are not governed by wise laws—If you do not enjoy the property transmitted to you from your ancestors, or acquired by your own skill and industry, in perfect security? Have you not the privilege of a trial by jury? Is there any power that can rightfully oppress you, and against which the laws do not provide an effectual remedy? Do you not sit beneath your own vines and your own figtrees, and enjoy yourselves and your possessions in peace? Do you not worship God in your own way, and according to the forms which the spirit of your devotion shall prescribe? It is by losing sight of these blessings, and by aiming at the chimerical objects which are now held out by our wild reformers, that the French nation have brought themselves to a condition which excites the wonder and the pity of Europe.

Such are the general rights which every British subject possesses; every man, be he a duke or a peasant, equally feels the influence of the laws and the protection of government. But society requires different degrees and classes of men, and each of them possesses the individual right of his respective situation in it; and by a coalition of the several parts, in their various subordinations, that order and harmony is produced which forms the happiness of the whole.

The different members of the body are made for different functions, but it is the co-operation of all, in the respective discharge of them, that gives energy, effect, and indeed, life to the system.

It really astonishes me, who have lived all my life among manufacturers, that any thing like a levelling and equalizing spirit, should have got the least footing in any of our manufacturing towns; because I conceive it to be essential to their progress and existence, that the rich inhabitants should be few, and the laborious many; and that the subordination of the different classes to each other, is the life and soul of every species of manufactory.

By way of example, let me suppose, for a moment, that the working manufacturers of Manchester or Birmingham should be so far inflamed by these new-fangled doctrines of the Rights of Man, as to say to their masters, "We have toiled for you long enough, you shall now toil for us:—It is by our skill and industry that you are become rich, we will, therefore, have our rightful share of the wealth acquired by our means." Of such an operation of the Rights of Man, what would be the consequence?—

Ruin to all—to the rich, who would be despoiled of their property; and to the poor, who would, thereby, lose every means of future maintenance and support. Indeed, it appears to me, that, in places particularly devoted to trade, manufactures, and commerce, there can be no evil so much to be dreaded as popular commotions. A foreign enemy would repay submission with clemency:—fire may be checked in its progress—but who shall say to the mad spirit of popular tumult;—Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.

We live, it is true, in an age of luxury—but luxury is the certain associate of wealth; and however, in a moral or a religious view, it may be an object of serious concern, the trader and manufacturer, at least, will be disposed to consider with complacency the source of so much advantage to themselves.

Whatever, therefore, may be the pretexts used to make you dissatisfied with your condition, your own experience tells you every day, that the Constitution you live under is, in its present state, a glorious Constitution.

You are now, my countrymen, the most prosperous people in the world—and it becomes you to be proud of your allotment. You must, surely, consult your reason as little as your piety, if you look, in this world, for blessings pure and unmixed. It is not in the nature of things—it is

not

not in the order of Providence, for man to possess them. Be thankful, therefore, for the superior good you enjoy—repine not at the evils which human wisdom cannot prevent? and be assured that those reformers, who tell you that your government is not perfect, have, in fact, any views rather than those of making it so. Be not so weak, or so ungrateful, as to suffer wicked and designing men to inflame you into discontent—and spare not your best exertions to check the spirit of it in others. Treat the busy, meddling, seditious zeal of reforming associations with the contempt they deserve;—pursue the honest and industrious occupations from which you, and your families, have derived such constant advantage, and avail yourselves of the present tranquillity to improve your own and the public prosperity.

In a word—recollect the well-known story, as it is given in the Spectator, of a man who, though he was in a state of perfect health, suffered himself to be persuaded by empirics and mountebanks, that he would be better if he dosed himself with their nostrums:—the consequence was, as might naturally be expected, that he soon ruined his health, and brought on a decline, which carried him to the grave. As an acknowledgement of folly, and as a warning to others, he ordered the following epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb: “I was well—I endeavoured to be better—and “here I lie.”

That you may all of you possess the wisdom to avoid a similar conduct,—that your trade, manufactures, and commerce may continue to flourish,—that the free constitution and superior happiness of our country may remain undisturbed by foreign foes, or domestic enemies, is the ardent wish of

Your sincere FRIEND,

A TRUE BORN ENGLISHMAN.

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Printed by Order of.

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER II.

CONTAINING

Short Hints upon Levelling---A Charge to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, by William Mainwaring, Esq. Chairman.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any Quantity.

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SHORT HINTS upon LEVELLING,

EXTRACTED FROM

Dr. VINCENT's DISCOURSE, on MAY 13, 1792.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT will probably occur to the Reader, upon perusal of the following pages, that when poverty is stated as an evil of necessity, the remedy of the evil ought to be found, not in the will of man, but in the ordinance of law. The Author is aware of the objection, and begs leave to obviate it, by remarking, that the moral part of the argument was his sole concern; it was for this reason that he has considered even the poor laws not as a legal injunction, but as an institution derived from the disposition of the people.

There is no political cure for poverty but the encouragement of industry. This is a point thoroughly understood by the Legislature, and provided for by the law. In this view, every drawback and bounty, every protecting duty, every regulation of the corn trade, and every assistance given to the fisheries, ought to be regarded as *political charity*, tending to promote industry, and to find employment

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for the people. The principles on which this system is founded, may be traced in the following pages; the system itself is left to be developed by those, whose business is political research.

A plain argument may produce its effect by due attention to arrangement and perspicuity; and if, among the numerous publications of the present day, directed to the same object, these HINTS shall in any degree contribute to promote peace, subordination, brotherly love, and Christian charity, no apology is requisite for obtruding on the Public the sentiments of an individual.

ALL History and all experience prove, that wherever Society exists, there must exist a class of poor. Those who deny the necessary existence of such a class, who assert that the gifts of Nature and the bounties of Providence are common to all, intend no good to the poor themselves, but mean to excite discontent and tumult, and use the poor as an instrument in an attack meditated upon the rich. Now whatever produces convulsion in a State, tends not to diminish, but to increase the number of the poor.

But if the poor consider poverty as an evil, it will be both a moral and a social duty to teach the poor themselves, that it is an evil they suffer—not from the nature of the Government they live under—not from any system of oppression planned by their superiors—not from want of good laws or regulations, but from the constitution of society; and that however it is the object and the interest of every good Government to alleviate poverty, all attempts to eradicate it, tend finally to the dissolution of society, and not to the removal of the evil.

And if the evil is without remedy, some philosophers, perhaps, may be rash enough to assert that society ought to be dissolved. But to this we cannot assent, because a state of nature, for one evil it removes, induces a thousand more noxious and more destructive; it does not better the condition of the poor, but destroys all the other classes in the community; it does not relieve the poor from oppression, but deprives them of protection and support.

There is in fact no such thing as a state of nature, nor ever was. The passions of man, his wants, desires, hopes, and fears, all reclaim against it: savage life is only one step indeed removed from it, and that state which approaches towards it, is miserable exactly in proportion to its approach. The very beggar in society, if he has no property,

property, has a life to lose, and *that* is protected; but if society is dissolved, there is no law but force. A state of nature is a state of war*.

It is in vain to argue this, because it is what no rational man will disallow; but if it is once granted that society is necessary for man, we must take it with all the evils that attend it; and if those evils are of *necessity*, they ought to occasion no more repining at the course of the moral and political world, than storms and tempests, disease and pestilence, cause in the ordinary course of nature.

It is not my intention to pronounce, that poverty is not an evil; for though it is a good when compared with the miseries of savage life, it is an evil at least by comparison, when put in competition with the blessings those enjoy who are possessed of rank, dignity, and fortune.

I. Granting, however, that it is an evil, let us next consider the means of alleviating it; and this has employed the minds of the wisest and best men in all ages. Philosophy and Religion exhort us to restrain our wants within the limits of our circumstances; and in truth, wherever this can be effected, it produces a real happiness which even the rich seldom enjoy. But as the great body of mankind is not actuated by motives of this sort, and few in any rank are capable of refinement so exalted, we must come to the practice of mankind instead of sentiment, and examine the plans which have been proposed to remedy the evil.

1. One of the most specious schemes produced for this purpose, is an equal division of land; and there is nothing that at first sight appears so pleasing to the people, so just, and rational. It is, however, in fact delusive to the highest degree; for at the same time it excites envy, malevolence, and all the worst passions of the human breast, it is a robbery on the rich, and no real relief to the poor.

This experiment has been tried in more instances than one, but has constantly failed in the execution, or event; nor can it ever answer, till you can make every portion of land equal in value as well as extent, and every possessor equal in talents, industry, and virtue.

If we can suppose a whole people entering upon a new-discovered country without inhabitants, it is the only in-

* The nations which approach nearest to a state of nature, are the American Indians and New Zealanders, and of both it may be said, their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them. They not only slay their enemies, but eat them; and history informs us this always was the case in similar circumstances.

stance we can find, in which such an allotment could take place, consistently with justice; and this instance has not yet occurred in the history of mankind.

2. A second instance, which has occurred too frequently, is, where a conquering nation has divided the lands of the conquered: the injustice here is to the conquered only; among the conquerors, all is equal, fair, and just. In this situation were the Israelites, when they divided the land of Canaan. But if we suppose that after this division was once made, it continued to prevent, or served to eradicate poverty, we have read our Bible very imperfectly; for Moses declares in express words, that the poor should never cease out of the land.

3. A third instance is, where, in a country long established, and where all the inequalities of property have already taken place, an attempt has been made to appoint a new division, to strip the rich; and give an equal portion to every individual of the community.

This attempt has been made in several countries, but except in one instance was never carried into execution: in that instance indeed the event corresponded to the design of the legislator who effected it; but the design itself was faulty, and the plan of government it produced could not serve as a model for any other nation upon earth. Figure to yourselves a nation of warriors without agriculture, arts, commerce, or manufacture, and you will see that such a people could not exist without slaves to till the soil. Figure to yourselves a military class of citizens ruling over a populace of slaves*, and those slaves † seven times the number of their masters, and you may then form some conception of that State which history holds up to us as a pattern of equality, as the pride of Greece, and the admiration of mankind.

In this case the equality of the free citizens generated of necessity a class of slaves; and if the experiment were tried at this day in any nation of Europe, though slavery might not be the consequence, there is no rashness in affirming that something worse would follow than poverty with all its evils.

* The Helots of Lacedæmon were not, properly speaking, the slaves of individuals, but of the public, though doubtless many of them were domesticated. But the just idea of Helotism is a nation of slaves under a nation of warriors. The Penestæ of Thessaly were in the same condition.

† I take this estimate from the number of Helots who attended the Lacedæmonian army at the battle of Plataea. There is much reason to believe that the disproportion was far greater.

The poor, perhaps, of our own country, when they look up to the immoderate wealth of some individuals, and see the manner in which that wealth is too frequently misused, naturally conceive that a more equal distribution of property would be more consistent with justice, and the certain means of relieving their own wants; but if the experiment were tried, either by a new division of land, or money, the result would not be relief, but disappointment.

For if we were to estimate the inhabitants of England at ten * millions, and divide the land equally among them, it amounts by a very easy computation to less than four acres a man. Suppose then every individual possessed of such an estate, how is he to cultivate it? If he has been an artisan, he is ignorant of the means: if he has been an husbandman before, he knows it will not support the oxen for his plough: he cannot hire assistants, for all are masters; he cannot hire or borrow cattle, for all are as unable to maintain them as himself. He must dig and sow and reap with his own hands; he must submit to the primeval curse of Adam; all the remedies of this curse, which the experience of six thousand years has discovered, must be thrown away, and he must sit down just where Adam began. In the mean time if all are husbandmen, where is the manufacturer to clothe him? where is the mariner to export his produce, or bring him the produce of other countries?

But let us try this question again, by dividing all the money and moveable property of the nation; and suppose the share of each individual to amount to twenty pounds or forty, or any indefinite sum, how are the poor to be bettered by this? Why they would live till the sum was expended without labour. That is happiness in truth; but when it *was* expended, they must return to labour again, and where are they to find an employer? All would be

* I state the number of inhabitants at ten millions, and the number of acres at between thirty and forty millions.

The number of inhabitants will be thought too large, but the argument will be equally valid whether you give every man four acres or six. I do not think, however, that I rate the inhabitants too high: for when we recollect that our political arithmeticians calculated the specie of the nation at about ten or twelve millions, which upon the gold coinage proved to be between thirty and forty, we have some reason to doubt their exactness in regard to population.

Sir William Petty estimates twenty-eight or twenty-nine millions of acres. Dr. Davenant reckons five millions and a half for the number of inhabitants, and gives seven acres and a half a man.

Major Grant allows four acres a man.

See Chambers's Dict. art. *Acres*, and *Pol. Arith.*

masters without servants, or servants without masters, and the system would be complete if they could have a nation of Kings, and an army of Generals. But let us suppose that the industrious man has improved his talents, while the profligate has squandered his share; what is the consequence? but that the frugal and provident must submit to a new division, and the idle and abandoned plunder him over again.

We may illustrate this by a familiar instance, which the poor will feel as forcibly as the rich; for if it should ever become illegal for one man to be richer than another, the savings of the poor are as liable to plunder, as the hoards of the rich. If a labourer has saved twenty shillings at the end of the year, four vagabonds shall tell him, that he has no right to be richer than themselves; that they have nothing, and therefore he must surrender four parts of his gain to them, and console himself with the fifth.

I wish to speak a language which the meanest individual may understand; I wish to teach the poor that every plan of this sort is delusive, that even their own interest is concerned in the well-being of their superiors, and that whatever tends to dissolve the tie, instead of relieving their wants, would add tenfold to their misery.

One consideration has been reserved purposely for this place, and that is the *injustice* of stripping the rich, to add to the poor.

In the first place, then, there are more honourable ways open for acquiring wealth in our own country, than usually occur in others; and if wealth has been acquired by patient industry, by superior talents or abilities, by hazards of life or health in a foreign country, by public services at home, what viler species of robbery can be conceived than to strip the possessor of the fruit of his labours, and reduce him to his original condition?

Injustice of this kind must put a stop to all industry in the lower orders, to every exertion of talents, knowledge, or abilities in the higher. We sow in hope that we may reap, we seek knowledge in hope that it may profit us: take away that hope, and you banish all knowledge out of the world, and reduce the earth to be a wilderness again.

It may be said, however, that wealth is sometimes obtained by unjust, fraudulent, or dishonourable means; and *this* undoubtedly is true. But against fraud and injustice the law provides a remedy in every well-regulated community; and against dishonourable means; we must set the opinion of mankind. Laws cannot be framed against every
— improper

improper acquisition of wealth, without encroaching at the same time on the security of legal property; and the security of property is the first incitement to exertion, the first band and object of society.

4. But there is another plan for reducing immoderate riches, and lessening the inequality of mankind, which is, by abolishing the right of primogeniture, and dividing property into equal shares upon the decease of the possessor. In this, the poor have little concern, as no share of the division would devolve on them; and unless we can suppose them actuated from mere envy with the desire of humiliating those above them, we can find no immediate interest they have in contributing to promote such a design.

But in the design itself, if there is no robbery, there is still the greatest injustice, and the most evident impolicy. The laws call upon us all to be industrious; the laws protect that property which is the effect of our industry; but if fresh laws shall afterwards deprive us of the disposal of our property, law is no longer consistent with itself, but contradictory; for on the one hand it cherishes industry, and on the other represses it. The first grand spur to industry is the security of property; the second is liberty of using it at the will of the possessor: if either of these be checked, industry is nipped in the bud; and in our own country, if industry were once discouraged, the poor, instead of finding bread, would be annihilated.

It is a political question, How far a rich nobility, a wealthy gentry, a substantial yeomanry, contribute to the support of liberty, and the well-being of the community? Dismissing this therefore as a consideration foreign to our purpose, let us consider the wealth of individuals as the produce of industry, or the means of promoting it. I say then, that extensive commerce implies extensive capitals; that capitals are employed in the commerce of our own country equal to the property of Princes; that if the merchant was compelled to divide his substance by any law whatever, exclusive of the check it would be on his own industry, it would destroy the possibility of conducting any extensive commerce; and that if the merchant is driven from his profession, the manufacturer must fail, the loom must stand still, and the ploughshare rust in the furrow.

To remove delusions of this kind from the minds of the people, is not merely a moral, but a civil and a social duty; for whatever tends to dissolve the bands, or disturb the order of society, is the source of envy,

malevolence, jealousy, hatred, and all the foulest passions of the human heart. Whatever tends to hold men together by ties of common interest, produces mutual affection, good-will, and charity, makes us better men, better citizens, and Christians; and serves to promote the object of all society,—that is, PEACE.

II. All remedies of this kind therefore which have been proposed are nugatory and delusive; but let us now consider those which Society itself holds forth, which are usually esteemed salutary and practicable, which are in some sense efficacious, because, though they do not eradicate the evil, they assuage the pain, and moderate the effects.

The poor, perhaps, would think it mockery, after what has been said, if they were told that the most certain relief was to be found in patience and content; and yet the poet and the moralist paint content in the cottage, and anxiety as the constant attendant on the palace and the throne. But the truth is, that content belongs no more to the one than the other; men are equally dissatisfied in high stations as in low, and those only in both have the greatest chance for happiness, who are most virtuous and best employed.

But if content is not to be found, the next object is industry, and industry in some degree implies discontent; for all that labour earnestly endeavour to better their present situation. If we trace up the consequences of this in higher life, it relieves the great from that listlessness arising from facility of enjoyment which riches present to them too profusely; and if we examine it among the lower orders, it is the source of order, decency, and sobriety; it begets habits which, if they are not virtuous, are allied to virtue, which render men useful to each other, and profitable to society.

But if industry is proposed to man by nature as an advantage and a blessing—if every form of society tends to forward and promote it, let us reflect with pleasure that our own Constitution goes beyond all others in the means it has taken to perfect this design.

For whatever security other Governments may hold out, if there is a country in the world where property is more secure than in another, it is our own. But there is likewise an additional spur, which, though it acts secretly and imperceptibly, is, perhaps, the first cause of that vigour and energy which has raised our commerce above that of all

all the nations which surround us. The road * to honour, rank, and dignity, is open to all; there is no *legal* obstruction to prevent the artisan from obtaining the most honourable station in his country; for, though the prize can fall to few, the hopes extend to all; and hence arises an emulation through all the intermediate steps to rank, which invigorates and animates the whole community.

Perhaps we may be told this is the fair side of the picture, for it is impossible that all should succeed; and therefore that when we present these hopes to their mind, we deceive them in the outset, and make them more unhappy in the event. But to this we may answer, that there is no delusion possible; for every hope which can be proposed to render men industrious, makes them happy, not only in the end they pursue, but in the pursuit itself. Industry may not attain its object; but in this country, at least, it will never fail of obtaining bread and maintenance, and rarely miss of competence and comfort.

If however it *should* fail, the law has provided a remedy for the failure. The Poor Laws are the act of the community, and if alms are the charity of individuals, the Poor Laws comprehend the charity of the nation. If it should be thought that there is no charity in giving what the law compels us to give, I answer, that we make our own laws in this country, and that if a tax for the poor were now to be laid on for the first time, the representative body would not, nay could not, raise it without the consent of the people.

Let us view the Poor Laws in another light, and we shall find that they are a remedy against despair †; and perhaps it will be acknowledged, that in this respect we evince the wisdom as well as the benevolence of the nation. The poor in any country are seldom dangerous unless they are desperate; but if *industry* has failed, there can be no despair while there is a certainty of support. And if *profligacy* has induced distress, it is better that even the

* The principal popular governments in Europe are Venice, Holland, and Switzerland.

In Venice, the barrier between the nobility and the people is never passed.

In Holland every city is a republic, but the government of each is in the hands of an aristocracy.

In Switzerland the peasant can never be a senator.

† “The enormities also which extreme wretchedness induces the lowest order of society to commit, are in a manner remedied in England by the immense relief of its poor-rates.” Review of Mr. Necker’s Administration, page 250.

profligate should find a refuge, than have a plea for resorting to fraud, violence, or rapine.

Heavy as this burthen is upon the people, it is still the lowest and the last resource of the unhappy: low, however, as it is, those who complain of it most are not those who have had recourse to it from unavoidable distress, but those who from sloth, idleness, and profligacy, have no other refuge left; and if it were possible to exclude the latter, the former might be maintained in comfort, and the nation be delivered of half its burthen at the same time.

Having thus considered these taxes as the charity of the nation, we come naturally to consider the charity of individuals; and on this head the poor have less right to complain in this country than in any other throughout the world.

For here what we ought to admire most, is not the liberal hand that gives, but the liberal spirit which dictates, and the deliberate wisdom which directs. The prodigal may give from thoughtlessness, the ostentatious from vanity, the miser from very hatred of his heir; we may give all our goods to the poor, and yet, if we have not charity of heart, it is nothing worth.

But I maintain, that the liberal spirit of this nation at the present hour is all directed to its proper end; it is in every instance *designed* * to relieve unavoidable distress, or promote industry; and whatever promotes industry augments the sum of happiness in the world.

From blindness, decrepitude, idiotism, or lunacy, it is true, no advantage can be derived to the public. When, therefore, we contribute to support the poor under these calamities, we mean only to alleviate the miseries of life, without proposing any benefit to our country; but in every other instance, when we relieve the poor, our only object is to encourage industry, and place them in a situation to exert it. We neither pretend to feed or clothe them, or give them houses; for these, we tell them, it is their duty to labour; that it is a duty enjoined them by God, by the law of Society, by their rank as Men and Citizens: if any will not work, neither should he eat (*this is a maxim not only of Religion but of Nature, Morality, and Society*); but in every casualty of life, which either the narrowness

* *Designed* I say, and I hope executed; for in every charity where attention is paid to economy, each subscriber can do more good by his subscription, than by expending the same sum on the same objects himself.

of means or the improvidence of the careless has neglected to provide against, the generosity of the rich has almost taken the whole burthen upon itself.

The superior orders of this Country might walk through the Streets of this Metropolis, and challenge the poor with having nothing to complain of except a life of labour; "and that," they might say, "is not allotted you by the ordinance of Man, but by the will of God."

But to the sick, to the lame, to the impotent, they might say, "There is a house to receive you, to feed you, to cure you, and restore you to your family and friends. Are your diseases the effects of vice, still you are not abandoned: there is relief held out to you. Go, be cured, and sin no more.

"And you, wretched prostitutes, who have been betrayed yourselves, and now support a wretched existence by betraying others, if you can yet repent, there is a home open to receive you; there is forgiveness held out to you in this life, which you thought was lost; there are means of restoring you to the world, if you will accept them.

"Where is the malefactor just delivered from imprisonment and bonds, who is now reduced by despair to return to fraud, robbery, or rapine? If he will labour, there is labour for him; if he will not, misery and destruction are only the just measure of his iniquity. Where is the youth brought up in profligacy, perverted by ill example, or abandoned to a life of sordid sloth, who is not now received, clothed, protected, and provided with the means of life and occupation? Is there any calamity, any species of distress, which is not anticipated by the liberality of the benevolent?"

Such is the language which the Rich in this Country might hold to the Poor.

And the Poor themselves may learn, that if the ties which bind all orders together in this country were once dissolved, whatever calamities the wealthy might be involved in, would fall with double weight upon themselves, when there would be no resource to look to—no friend, no protector, no benefactor.

A C H A R G E

TO THE

GRAND JURY of MIDDLESEX, 1792.

By WILLIAM MAINWARING, Esq. CHAIRMAN.

GENTLEMEN,

BEFORE you retire from the Court to proceed to your business, I must request you will permit me to call your attention to some measures of great importance to us all, in which the Tranquillity and Happiness of the Country are most materially concerned, and which it is your particular province at this time, as the Grand Jury for this great and populous County, to enquire into and present.

His Majesty has found it necessary to issue a second Proclamation, in which it is set forth, *that the utmost industry is still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the Laws and established Constitution of this Realm, and to destroy all Order and Government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, has lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection.*

The methods which have lately been pursued by evil-disposed persons to disturb the peace and good order of the kingdom, to introduce anarchy and confusion among us, to alienate the minds of the people from a due regard to the Laws and our happy Constitution, are of so alarming a nature, as to call upon all good men, upon all who have property to defend, or who wish to transmit to their posterity the blessings they enjoy under a mild and free government, to aid and assist in bringing such offenders to justice.

Gentlemen, the Constitution of this Country hath long been the envy and admiration of other nations. The liberty, the security, the protection which every one enjoys in his person and property, by the wisdom of our laws and the purity of their execution, have made this country the desired asylum of the wretched and oppressed. Here all ranks are alike protected; all are alike amenable to the laws, all subject to the same punishments, and equally compellible to make retribution for injuries committed. In this country the law is no respecter of persons. In our Courts of Justice all are equal; high and low, rich and poor, all are

are alike the care of our laws. This is the happy Equality which every one is entitled to, and enjoys, in this country—and it is the only Equality consistent with any form of government, with any system of society. Equality, in the sense in which it is now attempted to be inculcated into the minds of the people, by crafty and designing men, is, in the nature of things, impossible.

The wildest Savages, in the rudest state of nature, look up to some one as their chief or head, to lead and to protect them. The Author of our Being has not made us equal—we cannot make ourselves so. We were meant for society, and endowed with different powers and faculties to assist each other; the strong must protect the weak, the weak will contribute to the convenience and accommodation of the strong. It is the superior blessing which God has bestowed on the human race, to unite us together by mutual dependance on each other: from this arise all the comforts and endearments of human life. Of all creatures upon earth, Man would be the most wretched out of a state of society; no society can exist without Laws and Regulations for the support of it; and those established here are confessed by all nations to be the best adapted to give security, comfort, and happiness.

You however, Gentlemen, are no strangers to the fact (for it is too notorious), that doctrines have of late been maintained and propagated, and writings most industriously dispersed, with a view to create in men's minds discontent with our Constitution and present Form of Government. Attempts are daily making to persuade men they have not those rights to which they are entitled—to delude and impose upon weak minds, and excite them to proceedings, which, if not put a stop to, may be of very serious consequence to us all.

The Liberty of the Press is one of the glorious privileges of Englishmen—it is essential to the liberty of the subject, to the existence of a free state, while exercised for lawful and just purposes; but when it is made use of as the instrument of slander and detraction, to destroy the comfort and happiness of individuals, or to disturb the harmony and good order of the state, to mislead and impose upon the weak and ignorant, it becomes the most mischievous and destructive engine that can be put into the hands of wicked and ill-designing men. A man may injure his country and violate the law by the publication of seditious and inflammatory writings more than by any other method, inasmuch as the poison which such writings contain is more extensively disseminated,

seminated, more effectually and secretly infused into men's minds than it could be by any other mode of proceeding.

Gentlemen, many well-disposed persons who would shudder at the thought of committing an act of treason, will innocently take a book to their closet, and read it; some from mere curiosity, some from a desire of information; and if they have not judgment to detect, and strength of mind to resist, the fallacious arguments and false reasonings made use of by artful and evil-minded men to impose upon and mislead, they insensibly fall into the snare prepared for them; and though they may not perhaps, at first, be worked up to acts of outrage and violence, are gradually lulled into a state of indifference for the preservation of that Constitution which they are taught to believe is oppressive, and withholds from men their just rights. These, and a long train of evils, are the consequences of seditious publications. That we may examine our Constitution—the principles on which it is founded—may point out inconveniences—may suggest improvements—may examine the conduct of the Ministers of Government—all these, Gentlemen, are privileges which every British subject enjoys. But the publication of libellous and seditious pamphlets and papers having a direct tendency to subvert and destroy the Constitution, to irritate men's minds, to fill them with groundless jealousies and discontents, and to bring together a deluded populace for the purpose of altering the Constitution, or coming to resolutions contrary to the established Laws of the Country—all this is at once sounding the trumpet of Rebellion, and inviting evil-disposed or misguided men, whose minds have been poisoned by the promoters of sedition, to commit acts of violence and outrage, by which the life and property of every good subject will be in danger, and at the mercy of a lawless mob, pushed on to desperate measures by the hope of plunder, and establishing an imaginary Equality. When writings of this sort appear, it is the duty of *every one* to use his endeavours to suppress them, and bring the offenders to justice. But *you*, Gentlemen, in the situation in which *you* stand, are more immediately called upon to bring forward offences of this sort. If it is within your own knowledge who the writers or publishers are, you are to present them. If charges against such persons are brought before you by indictment, you will consider them seriously; and if, upon the evidence you hear, you find them proper for further inquiry, you will declare them TRUE BILLS, that the party

accused

accused may be made amenable to the law, and, if guilty, may be brought to punishment. You are not to try---not to hear and determine the offence, but only to say whether the party accused ought to be put upon his trial. Such is the caution and humanity of our Constitution in favour of the Liberty of the Subject, that without your assent prosecutions for the highest crimes which can be committed must stop. This is a great and important trust committed to you; in the wise and just exercise of which, the Safety of the State, the Rights of the People, and the Preservation of the Constitution, are deeply concerned.

However great and heinous offences may be, the even-handed justice of this country proceeds by known, regular, and stated rules. You must first declare that the accused ought to be tried; another Jury must hear the accusation and defence, and pronounce whether he be guilty or not: so that two Juries must give sanction to the proceeding, before punishment can be inflicted. Such is the security which every one has in an English Court of Criminal Judicature.

One would have thought the melancholy fate of those unfortunate and deluded persons who suffered the dreadful sentence of the law in consequence of the active part they took in the riots which disgraced this metropolis in 1780, would have been a warning, at least as long as that scene of confusion and mischief was recent in every one's mind ---but, alas! those examples do not seem to have had the desired effect. Efforts are making by the enemies to our prosperity and happiness to check our career of glory, and to destroy this beautiful fabric, THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, reared and perfected by the wisdom and experience of many ages.

That Meetings convened, and Associations formed, for the purpose of forcing an alteration in our Laws, and changing the Constitution, are highly criminal, cannot but be obvious to every one of common understanding, who will give himself a moment's time for reflection. Where three or more persons assemble together to do an act not justifiable by the form of our Constitution, such a meeting is an unlawful assembly---and it is the duty of all magistrates and others to suppress and prevent such meetings. The purpose of the meeting makes the assembly unlawful, though the purpose is not carried into execution.

If a number of persons riotously and tumultuously assemble together to redress (what they term) Public Grievances, or to alter the established Law of the Land; or attempting,

tempting, by intimidation and violence, to force the Repeal of Laws, or compel the enacting of new ones, it is an Act of Treason.

Gentlemen, I need not, when I am addressing myself to men of your experience and situation in life, detail the several public offences on this subject. It is enough to say, that every act tending to produce a breach of the peace---to disturb the tranquillity and good order of the kingdom---to create discontent in men's minds with our Constitution and Form of Government, either by actions, seditious writings, libellous and indecent prints, or in any other way, are all high offences and misdemeanors, proper for your enquiry and presentment.

I cannot dismiss you without adding one word more, on a matter which it is fit that *all* should know, if there are any that are ignorant of it:

That every one residing here, and enjoying the protection of the law, is bound to allegiance and obedience to it. Obedience to the law necessarily follows protection under it.

Therefore it is, that foreigners dwelling among us, and enjoying our protection, from whatever country they come, are equally amenable to the laws, and equally liable to be punished as traitors, for acts of treason committed by them, or for any other crime they may be guilty of, as if they were natural-born subjects.

I will detain you, Gentlemen, no longer. I have thought it proper shortly to mention these several matters to you, with a view of bringing them to your recollection at this particular time---not doubting, however, but that you are well acquainted with this, and every other particular of your duty, and that you are come hither well disposed to exercise the power with which the Constitution has invested you, with prudent firmness, with justice, and with mercy.



P U B L I C A T I O N S

PRINTED BY ORDER OF

T H E S O C I E T Y

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

N U M B E R III.

CONTAINING

A Protest against T. Paine's Rights of Man: addressed to the Members of a Book Society, in consequence of the Vote of their Committee for including the above work in a list of new publications resolved to be purchased for the use of the Society.

“HAVOCK AND SPOIL AND RUIN ARE MY GAIN.” MILTON.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be supplied with any quantity.
PRICE TWO PENCE.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

I N a populous Village in this Kingdom a considerable number of the Inhabitants have formed themselves into a BOOK SOCIETY, whereof a Committee is annually chosen for the purpose of selecting such Books as they may think proper to be circulated among the Society at large. At a Meeting of this Committee one of the Members thereof proposed the publication entitled “RIGHTS OF MAN.” Another

other Member resisted strenuously the choice of a Book, which he considered as an insidious address, under a fictitious and ensnaring title, to weak heads and to bad hearts; as replete with indecency and scurrility, and as dictated by a desire of involving a free and happy Country in confusion and ruin. Being, however, unsuccessful in his opposition, and being also unwilling that the Society should suppose him to have concurred in submitting such a Book to their perusal, he felt it due to himself to PROTEST against the Vote which he had in vain endeavoured to prevent, and to assign at large the reasons on which such PROTEST was founded. These reasons, deduced from the obvious design and tendency of the work in question, are detailed in the following sheets, and appear in their original and genuine form of an Address to the Society. And he flatters himself, that his conduct on this occasion will be found to contain an useful moral, deserving the attention of those, who in similar situations, and with similar sentiments and dispositions, *suffer their regard for the public welfare to be surprised into inactivity and supineness, or vanquished by a dread of appearing singular.*

It is but justice to add, that nothing is further from the design of the Writer of this PROTEST than to insinuate, that the rest of the Committee were induced to vote for the Book in question from any approbation of its contents. He knows that they held the doctrines and the designs of MR. PAINE in abhorrence; but zealously, and indeed laudably attached to a principle of free discussion, and fearful of even appearing hostile to the exercise of a right so essential to the existence of social Liberty, they suffered themselves (perhaps incautiously, but with the best intentions) to promote the circulation of a work which endeavours to convert the invaluable privilege of a free Press into an instrument of destruction to the State.

In the Advertisement to the Second Part of "The Rights of Man," the vain Author makes his boast of the extensive and numerous distribution of the copies of the First Part, and he seems to infer from thence that the sense of the Public is in his favour. How erroneous is such an inference! A book so remarkably distinguished for wild extravagance, consummate audacity, and daring insolence, as "The Rights of Man," could not fail to engage a certain degree of public attention, upon the same principle that the exhibition of a monstrous animal production will excite notice and attract gazers in proportion to the hideous deformity

formity of the spectacle. But those who judge of the merit of a book from its progress into notoriety, will frequently find themselves mistaken. Indeed it is not unusual for the merit and the circulation to be in an inverse proportion to each other. The "PARADISE LOST" rose by very slow degrees into notice; but publications that inflame the passions, the lascivious account of a Trial for *Crim. Con.* or an incendiary production exciting to public disorder, are almost sure to throng the Bookseller's shop with eager enquirers. At length, however, distributive Justice *is sure* to prevail. The work of Merit, rising by degrees into estimation, survives the age in which it first appears, and conveys the author's fame to the latest posterity; while the coarse, malignant, and inflammatory stuff, despised from the first by the wise and good, sinks much more rapidly into oblivion, which, with regard to such productions, is happily

"A bourn from which no traveller returns."

MR. PAINE, however, most ungratefully omits to acknowledge the patronage of those benevolent coadjutors in the same cause, whose liberality and exertions have chiefly contributed to the boasted multiplication of his copies, and who, by generous and pressing *donations*, have procured the acceptance thereof by numbers who could never have been persuaded to make the acquisition on any other terms. Unfortunately, this gratuitous mode of distribution is apt to suggest an idea, that what is so dispensed is of very insignificant value (like the benediction in the Fable, which was bestowed after the smallest pecuniary donation had been withheld); and an idea of this sort is a prodigious check to the perusal of a book so acquired: the generous circulation therefore of the far greater part of our Author's copies is probably of *immediate* convenience in divers retail branches of trade. But although for these reasons the distribution of Mr. PAINE's writings be a very fallacious criterion of the number of his readers, one thing is clear, that, be that number great or small, the generality of them would be highly gratified by seeing his pamphlets *lighted* into proper notice, and the Author himself *elevated* to a station of distinguished eminence, in the midst of surrounding and exulting multitudes.

There seems to be but very little occasion to travel out of the "Rights of Man" in order to ascertain the real motives of the Author; and an Englishman must

have a wonderful propensity to confound his friends and his foes, who does not discover in that work a steady and deliberate plan to sap and undermine the happiness and prosperity of Great Britain. But in order to be thoroughly acquainted with a man's sentiments and views, it is useful to trace his language and his conduct through different periods, and to render him thereby explanatory of himself. If we apply this rule to Mr. PAINE, it will appear, that he has not only been long actuated by, but that he formerly gloried in avowing, an implacable animosity and rooted hatred to this country; and *that* not merely to its Government, but to its interests, its welfare, its national character, its national honour, its commercial and naval greatness. It is well known, that, born a British subject, but destitute of those qualities which are calculated to attract esteem and command success in this country, he conveyed himself, without the assistance of legal interposition, to America, about the commencement of our dispute with the Colonies. The character he took with him was not calculated to advance him above a very low station, in which he first appeared; but the marked malevolence he testified against his native land could not fail to be grateful to his new connections; who were then in that situation which renders the Treason acceptable, even though the Traitor be detested. Thus, in violation of his natural allegiance, he strained every nerve to increase the animosity then subsisting between the Mother-country and her Colonies, and to prevent any accommodation from taking place. His pen was constantly employed during the war in widening the breach which all good Englishmen sincerely deplored, and in promoting that final separation between England and America, which was then considered as an event the most fatal that could possibly happen to the former Country *. Had Experience realized

* By a pamphlet entitled, "COMMON SENSE," and by an occasional paper styled "THE CRISIS," he laboured during the war to fan the flame of discord, and to indispose the Americans from again recognising Englishmen as brethren; and in "A Letter to the Abbé Raynal," written after the Independence of America had been acknowledged, he still displayed the same deep-rooted and invincible enmity to Great Britain. A few extracts from these writings will serve materially to explain his motives in wishing so anxiously to meddle with our concerns.—In his COMMON SENSE he says, "Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, still hoping for the best; and are apt to call out, Come, come, we shall be friends again for

realized this apprehension,—had the loss of America been attended with ruin to the greatness and prosperity of England—had the Sun of Britain's Glory then indeed “set for ever,”—we should probably have seen no more of Mr. THOMAS PAINE, except he had paid us a cursory visit to insult our distress, and to glut his malice with a view of our calamity; and finding us sufficiently miserable, his satisfaction had been complete, and the “Rights of Man”

“for all this. But let us examine the passions and feelings of mankind; “bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and “then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully “serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land.” Page 38.

“To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to “have faith, and our affections, wounded through a thousand pores, “instruct us to detest, is madness and folly.—The last cord is now broken, the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There “are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature “if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as “the Continent of America forgive THE MURDERERS of BRITAIN. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable “feelings to good and wise purposes.” Page 52.

So several years after, in his “Letter to the Abbé Raynal,” he shews that the same enmity to Great Britain still rankled in his breast; and that it was founded not in any sense of injury, but in a detestation of the qualities of the English people. Thus he says, “If we take a review of what “part Britain has acted, we shall find every thing which ought to “make a nation blush; the most vulgar abuse accompanied by that species “of haughtiness which distinguishes the hero of a mob from the character of a gentleman. It was equally from her manners as from her “injustice that she lost her colonies.” Page 8.

So after expatiating upon “that greatness of character, and that superiority of heart which had marked the conduct of France in her conquests,” upon “the rival eminence of the confederates, and the lenity of America,” he says, “It is England only who has been insolent “and cruel.”—And again, “A mind habituated to meanness and injustice commits them without reflection.” Page 52.—And again, “From Holland, she (Britain) expected duplicity and submission, and “this mistake arose from her having acted in a number of instances during “the present war in the same character herself. To be allied to, or connected “with Britain, seems to be an unsafe and impolitic situation. Make Holland and America her own allies, and she will insult and plunder them.” P. 54.—“A total reformation is wanted in England. She wants an “expanded mind.” Page 56.—“It may be clearly seen, that the strength “of France has never yet been tried on a navy; and that SHE IS ABLE “TO BE AS SUPERIOR TO ENGLAND IN THE EXTENT “OF A NAVY, AS SHE IS IN THE EXTENT OF HER REVENUES AND HER POPULATION; and England may lament “the day, when by her insolence and injustice she provoked in France “a maritime despoliation.” Page 64.—He then throws out some hints for the demolition of the British Navy.

would have been unknown for ever, unless, in pursuit of the only repose congenial to his disposition, the Author had accommodated that work to disturb the felicity of some happier clime, or to lessen, if possible, the general sum of human happiness. But the unexpected, the unexampled, the daily-increasing prosperity of Great Britain, the harmony, the loyalty, and the happiness of its inhabitants, furnished a disappointment too severe to be endured with any degree of composure. These were scenes which harrowed up the soul of the envious and malignant *Fiend*, who, like his *progenitor*, bent his course to this Paradise of the globe, eager to destroy that felicity which it was not in his nature either to partake of or endure.

It is difficult, under any circumstances, to find pity for those, whose character, conduct, and designs, merit only execration; and yet one can hardly refuse to commiserate the extreme severity of their disappointment, who built their hopes upon the success of these fictitious "Rights of Man" in this country. That success has been exactly such as was merited, and as might reasonably have been expected. Indignation at the design, detestation of the Author's character, and contempt for his performance, constitute the public sentiment upon this occasion.—And at length JUSTICE, with slow but steady pace, seems advancing to gratify the universal wish, by vindicating the insulted dignity of the country.

The good sense of the English People is no more to be deluded by *artifice* than their vigour is to be vanquished by *force*. They are not to be persuaded to part with the substance for the shadow. They can distinguish between the sincere and honest advice of rational friends, and the wily ensnaring addresses of insidious foes. They can detect treachery, and defeat malice. They are not so short-sighted as to believe, that in 1792 the man would counsel them to their good, who a few years before was labouring at their destruction. And sensible that under the friendly influence of their most excellent Constitution, and of the happiest possible form of Government, they not only enjoy the greatest degree of personal freedom, as well as of personal security, that can exist in society, but have also risen, within the short space of eight years, from penury to affluence, and from deep and accumulated distress to great and unexampled prosperity; rejoiced also that the fruits of these great and manifold advantages have already begun to appear in an alleviation of their burthens,

they

they are not to be induced to stop the career of their greatness, and to replunge into a state of confusion and calamity worse even than that from which they have so happily emerged.

A P R O T E S T, &c.

Addressed to the Members of a Book Society.

HAVING been unsuccessful in my endeavours, as a Member of your Committee, to prevent the introduction of Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man" into the Society, I consider it as due to myself, as well as a proper mark of respect to the Society at large, thus to enter my Protest against the Vote by which it was resolved to present that book to your inspection. My wish is, to obviate the supposition that I concurred in such a resolution; but, lest I should be thought to object on trivial grounds, I feel it incumbent upon me to assign at large the reasons upon which my Protest is founded.

In the first place, I cannot reconcile it to *my own* feelings to contribute in *any* degree to the circulation of a work, the palpable design of which is to disturb the tranquillity and invade the happiness of the State; and which appears to be solely intended to excite disaffection towards Government, to stimulate the people to sedition and rebellion, and to involve this free and happy country in scenes of confusion and anarchy.

I should also consider myself as guilty of an insult upon *your* feelings, were I to put into your hands a work containing a most indecent and malignant attack upon that CONSTITUTION which is deservedly your pride and boast as Britons, and which preserves inviolate your rights and privileges as free citizens; a Constitution obtained by the glorious struggles of your ancestors—founded upon experience—matured by time—which has stood the test of ages—the essence of which is social liberty—the scope of which is social happiness;—in short, a Constitution which you enjoy as your inestimable birth-right, which calls for your gratitude to its venerable founders, and which it is your bounden duty to transmit unimpaired to posterity.

If a book of which the tendency is generally admitted to be immoral and dissolute, were proposed in your Society, every Member of it would spurn at the idea of its being submitted to your notice. And can any publication be in effect more grossly or destructively vicious and immoral, than one which tempts to a violation of the important duties of subjects—which tends to disturb the public order—to weaken or dissolve the bands which, by connecting Government and People, keep Society together—to withdraw that respect to the ruling powers which is prescribed both by reason and religion—to diminish the authority of the laws, and thereby to remove the restraints which are necessary to controul the passions of mankind—and finally, to sacrifice domestic tranquillity and national prosperity for intestine commotions and civil discord?

If a plan were published for the purpose of instructing and encouraging evil-disposed persons to set fire to the habitations of individuals, who would assist in the propagation of so detestable a scheme? Shall we favour then the attempts, shall we patronize or encourage the efforts of an incendiary, who aims at the conflagration of that noble and valuable edifice the common and comfortable dwelling of us all, while under its friendly and hospitable roof we participate with harmony and affection the transcendent enjoyments of a firmly-united and a well-regulated family?

While, however, I decline to take a part in disseminating sedition and treason, I am a real friend to fair and candid discussion, which, instead of being hostile, must always prove favourable to the British Constitution. But the disquisitions of Mr. Paine are by no means of this description. Under the mask of discussion, they really point to action, and that of the most pernicious and criminal nature—they lead not to any practicable good, but to turbulence and general commotion. If they were to have their desired effect, the Constitution would be annihilated; our lives, our liberties, and our property, would be deprived of legal protection; Government would be overturned; and in vain might we look into the darksome void of futurity to catch even a faint and dubious glimpse of security against unbridled licentiousness and unrestrained violence.

It may be said, perhaps, that if Mr. Paine's doctrines be not founded in reason, their being propagated will but expose them to refutation; but who would distribute poison for the sake of the antidote? Such doctrines, although
fallacious

fallacious and sophistical in the extreme, nay, although in a great measure they carry their own refutation along with them, may, nevertheless, among persons of particular descriptions, and on whom they are chiefly designed to operate, produce the most mischievous impressions. They are not, indeed, calculated to produce this effect upon strong, experienced, and well-informed minds; they are framed for the meridian of those understandings which are not accustomed to weigh and to discriminate; and which are ever ready, from indolence, weakness, or inexperience, to receive such impressions.

These disquisitions are also adapted to operate upon the restlessness inherent in man; and they proceed upon the ungenerous principle, that human nature is a fertile soil for the cultivation of discontent: but more especially do they seem to be prompted by the base consideration, that it is easy to infuse dissatisfaction into the minds of those who occupy the lower stations in Society, and that it requires but little address or ingenuity to inspire such persons with disgust and envy, and to convince them that the gradation of rank, which is indispensable to order, and founded indeed in nature, is an infringement on their rights. Schemes of unattainable equality cannot fail to be grateful to those who have but a very small portion of the goods of fortune, who are easily led to believe that the disparity which is inseparable from the nature of Society, is an evil and an injustice to which they ought not to submit. Instead of promoting contentment and cheerful industry, so beneficial to the individual and the community—instead of pointing out the advantages which are peculiar to each station, and which prove, that, notwithstanding an apparent inequality, the balance is poised with impartial justice—instead of displaying virtue as the only source of real felicity, it is the object of the modern “Rights of Man” to create restlessness and dissatisfaction, and to persuade mankind, that they suffer injuries which they do not perceive, that they sustain hardships which they do not feel, that their comforts are visionary and their happiness mere delusion; in short, these doctrines find men happy, prevail on them to believe that they are not so, and in the end render them miserable.

Such attempts are, indeed, not more pernicious than absurd—not more destructive of the general good than unfriendly to the real interests of those whose welfare they artfully profess to have in view: for by endeavouring to remove a due subordination, and to create contention between

the several Orders of which Society is composed, they tend to destroy the harmony and co-operation of the whole, and to produce evils which would fall, heaviest on the lowest classes, which have the fewest resources, and are unavoidably the most dependant. It would be just as rational to attempt to persuade the Feet, that, considering their importance and utility, they ought not to submit to those offices which are assigned them—that it is a hardship and an injustice for them to be obliged to wade through the dirt, and to bear the weight of the whole body—that they are entitled to some nobler capacity, some more elevated station—that having nerves as well as the Head (the pretended seat of intelligence), their opinions ought to be taken, their will consulted, and themselves admitted into the council; and that they ought, in maintenance of their rights, to rebel against the subsisting inequality of arrangement, and refuse to perform their accustomed works of drudgery.

But absurd as these doctrines really are, that absurdity is, for the reason I have mentioned, no sufficient security against their progress. It is therefore rendering Society a service to detect and expose their fallacy—to point out the wicked intent from which they proceed, and the mischievous, nay ruinous consequences to which they tend. To do this, is to consult not merely the welfare of the present age, but that also of posterity. For it is a favourite object with the abettors of these delusive systems of pretended rights, to poison the tender minds of generous and unsuspecting youth—to take the judgment by surprise—to warp the reason while it is in its progress towards maturity—and to imprint injurious impressions at a period when they are most likely to be rendered indelible. By such means it is endeavoured to lay a foundation for disturbances in future generations, in case the present age, under the influence of good education and good habits, should be so fortunate as to defeat the machinations of sedition.

But, in addition to all these considerations, it is to be remembered, that the doctrines I allude to are particularly intended to unite and call into action the unprincipled and turbulent part of mankind, the common pests of Society, who are ever ready to second any attempts which lead to tumult and disorder. Desperate, ambitious, and malignant, their views are promoted, or their feelings gratified, by scenes of riot and confusion, and they depend for their harvest upon the convulsions of kingdoms and empires. Men
of

of this description dislike nothing so much as the restraints of law and decorum. Their wishes are thwarted by the controul of any Government which has vigour enough to protect the good from the attacks of the bad, to repel the incursions of violence and licentiousness, and to keep Society together in a firm and compact band of union. Such persons, who from the nature of their dispositions and pursuits are abundantly more watchful and active than the friends of Order, are obliged to any body who will furnish them with a shadow of a pretext for raising a clamour against imaginary defects in any part of the existing Government: they flock to a Declaration of absurd, fictitious, and impracticable Rights, as to a Manifesto of Rebellion or a Standard of Revolt—happy in an occasion to blow the flame which may catch all that is combustible in a State—thrice happy to find a head, whether a TYLER, a CADE, or a CATILINE, who may lead them to the attack, or may give consistence and effect to their conspiracies.

Thus, upon the whole, are the modern “Rights of Man” intended to take advantage of all that is weak and of all that is wicked in Society; of the failings and the vices, of the worst passions and the basest propensities of mankind: thus are they designed to collect into a focus the turbulent and the disaffected: they tend to embitter the labourer’s toil, and to infuse the poison of discontent into his invigorating draughts, which were wont to support him cheerfully under his fatigues: and, adapted by their coarse and superficial reasonings to minds entirely uncultivated, which are unused to the detection of fallacy, and unable to trace causes to effects, they form a catechism of sedition and disloyalty for the lower orders of the people.

These are the considerations which have made me so eagerly oppose the circulation of a work which in so many ways tends to produce the most pernicious effects. I admit indeed that its impression is not likely to be general, because, fortunately, it is not so easy a matter as these incendiaries vainly suppose, to induce a Nation to part with substantial felicity and rational freedom: their nefarious attempts, however, keep Society in a state of ferment and agitation, give uneasiness to the virtuous and well-disposed, and tend to weaken the beneficial energies of Government. Instead, therefore, of being encouraged in any degree, they ought, by all possible means, to be discountenanced by all real friends to their country; and if we cannot wholly prevent the mischievous industry with which such doctrines are

propagated, we ought at least, on our part, to be equally diligent in endeavouring to counteract its effects. *Why should a good cause inspire less vigour or less activity than a bad one? Why should the adherents of the Constitution be less zealous than its foes? Why should the well-disposed be less vigilant, or less animated, than those of a contrary description? The strongest fortresses must fall, if the garrison, supinely depending upon the strength of the walls, neglect to repel the assailants.* It ought not to satisfy the minds of good citizens, to leave to Government the whole task of preserving the public tranquillity. It is on every account to be desired, that the extraordinary interposition of the public force for the maintenance of order should be but seldom resorted to. The necessity of such interference would be generally prevented, if individuals were to exert themselves within the sphere of their influence, and endeavour to check causes instead of waiting for effects; if they would overawe and discourage the common disturbers of society by a marked detestation of their characters, and by a steady and unremitting watchfulness of their measures and designs. The odium attached to vice furnishes perhaps a more general check to its progress than even the penalties of the law.

To explain more particularly the general reasoning which I have already urged, we need only appeal shortly to some few passages of Mr. Paine's work.

Mr. Paine, in both the First and Second Parts of his **RIGHTS OF MAN**, begins, very judiciously, with preparing the way for that system of destruction which it is the object of both to introduce. The grand obstacles in the way of his designs are **LAW**s and **GOVERNMENT**: it was therefore very necessary, as a preparatory step, to weaken these impediments, by withdrawing or diminishing as much as possible the respect which mankind usually possess for such institutions. Accordingly, in the commencement of his First Part, our Author endeavours to establish, as a fundamental principle, that the present age or generation is not at all bound by any act of preceding times, and that all laws and institutions heretofore made and established are now destitute of all binding authority. This, it must be owned, is no injudicious step in pursuit of his grand object; for if he could but get rid of the authority of all social regulations which have not been actually introduced in the present day, very little would remain to check the progress of his wishes and undertakings. Such reasoning is, however, the most absurd and nonsensical that ever came
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from the pen of any writer. Mankind is not really susceptible of any such division as that of ages and generations. The transactions of the world are, indeed, for the sake of convenience and historical precision, classed under certain periodical denominations of time; but the race of men, like a stream, is perpetually running off and perpetually supplied afresh; its continuity is preserved unbroken from year to year, and from century to century. There is no point, line, or boundary, at which one generation can be said to terminate and another commence: at every moment some are commencing the career of existence, while others are going off the course. This uninterrupted chain of human existence preserves a correspondent connection in human affairs. Society is thus held constantly together, and knows nothing, in its aggregate capacity, of that mortality which is the attribute of the individuals who compose it. Of course the obligation of the *laws* by which Society is regulated, is necessarily as uniform as the existence of Society itself: neither the death of the Legislator nor of his contemporaries can dissolve or weaken their force. The Laws are not made to bind any particular set of individuals, but the community at large, of whomsoever it may be composed. We are born under subjection to them, as well as under their protection. The legislative authority exercised a hundred years ago is of precisely the same force with regard to ourselves as that exercised yesterday; and the Laws made in our own time are in no sense more compulsory than the subsisting Laws enacted by our forefathers. The latter are even rendered more venerable by their antiquity. No Legislature can indeed infringe upon the powers of a subsequent one. There always exists the same right to repeal, as well as the same obligation to obey, till that right be properly exercised. Society is at every period of time possessed of the same powers, and its right to annul a law of the last year, or of the last century, stands exactly upon the same ground. Thus while the continued obligation of the Laws, till regularly repealed by the supreme authority, is necessary to the order, the harmony, and indeed the existence of a State; the right existing equally at all times to abrogate and to alter as well as to enact, preserves the constant independence of Society, and renders it at all times equally free. It is therefore the grossest sophistry in Mr. Paine to contend, that the authority of the Parliament of 1688, or of any prior Parliament is superseded by lapse of time.

We continue to recognize such authority ; we continue thereby to reap the fruits of the wisdom then exercised ; and we are, nevertheless, as free and as independent as the people of that age. So the authority of modern Parliaments will, in like manner, be binding upon Posterity, without encroaching upon its freedom.—So much for Mr. Paine's endeavour to undermine the authority of the Laws.

A second grand object of this Writer is to persuade mankind, that Government itself is almost useless and unnecessary. Accordingly he tells us, in Part II. page 8, that " Government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent : " that " The abolition of any formal Government, far from being the dissolution of society, brings it closer together : that " Formal Government makes but a small part of civilized life ; and, whenever the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact : " and page 10, that " It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the form of Government or not, the effect will be the same *."

But surely it is not possible that such trash (which I have only quoted in order to point out the cloven foot, and expose the design and the extent of our author's doctrines) can raise a film before the understanding, and obscure the real, the efficient, the universal operation of Government, as maintaining the union of Society, and affording to each individual the only possible source of protection, in all the relations and in all the situations in which he can be supposed to exist.

Society is a state where the compulsory obligation of laws is interposed to guard the enjoyment of those rights which are properly recognized and defined, from passion, violence, and injustice. It is plain, that these laws cannot be made and enforced without some adequate authority. And what is that authority but government ? which, as it superin-

* The example of the American States, during the war, is quoted, in order to prove that Society can exist without Government. But in a time of civil war, when a country is covered with armies, though its government be in a manner suspended, for *inter arma silent leges*, yet the very state of hostilities compresses the people into compactness and subordination, and the civil government is only merged in the necessarily more vigorous and more unlimited controul of military power.

sends the whole, and every part, is necessarily supreme. In what condition, in what occupation, in what retirement, is not the agency of this power to be traced? And what can possibly be substituted in its place? It is the only source of all protection and of all security, and alone enables us to enjoy the gifts of fortune and the fruits of industry. It does not indeed furnish the vegetative principle by which the corn grows, nor does it bestow the genial warmth that matures the fruit of the vineyard; but it extends its guardian care over the swelling ear and the ripening cluster; it protects the labours of the husbandman, and defends the harvest and the vintage from rapine and depredation.

The doctrine of Mr. Paine, that Government is of very limited importance and utility, is confuted not only by the plainest dictates of common sense, but also by the daily experience of common life. Do we not find that every inferior association of mankind calls of necessity for some connecting and controuling authority? By what other means are the domestic concerns of a private family (the most natural type, and perhaps the original foundation of society at large) to be preserved from confusion and ruin? What a scene would the application of equalizing principles produce in a domestic establishment? Do not the common interests of every parish require the management, direction, and control, of a government within itself? Nay (to descend to instances almost below the gravity and importance of the subject), will our author assert, that in the highest state of exhilaration which he ever experienced in those fashionable convivial meetings (commonly denominated Clubs), he ever proposed to his free and animated associates to relieve themselves from the irksome authority of the chair? Ten or twenty equals, assimilated by their dispositions and habits, cannot assemble for any particular purpose, and scarcely to eat and drink together, without a President, Chairman, or Head, to preserve order and decorum. But, if we are to credit the wonderful discoveries of Modern Philosophy, ten or twenty millions of all ranks, habits, and dispositions, associated for the protection of unnumbered complex interests, and for the preservation of multifarious rights, have but little occasion for such assistance; and with them the best Government "that human wisdom
" can devise, is a thing more in name and idea than in
" fact !!!"

Mr. Paine himself, however, seems to consider this ground as so desperate that he soon quits it, and commences his at-

tack in a different manner. He seems to recollect that the world in general are not only convinced of the necessity of some Government, but that it is essential to the happiness of any country, that the functions of Government should be exercised according to certain established forms and rules; which, without crippling its operation, and depriving it of its essential energy, may furnish powerful checks against the exertion of its powers for the purposes of oppression. These checks have hitherto been supposed to exist in the greatest perfection in that separation of office, in that distribution of privilege and function, which have rendered the British Constitution the source of freedom, of felicity, and of glory, to this country—the envy of the rest of the world, and the master-piece to which all rational friends of Liberty throughout the globe look up, as to a matchless model for imitation. Mr. Paine, however, endeavours to avail himself of the most opposite sentiments for the purpose of exciting discontent. He first represents Government as unnecessary, in order, if possible, to make some of his readers indifferent to the preservation of that which actually exists; but lest he should fail in this attempt, he next appears the advocate for a regular constitution, and in this character, in order to take another chance of raising dissatisfaction, he gravely asserts, that in this country, notwithstanding all we see and feel, we have at this hour no Constitution at all! Why, did he not at the same time tell us, that we have no showers and no sun-shine? Such an assertion would not be more contradictory to common sense and daily experience.

Mr. Paine vainly endeavours to fix an odium upon subsisting Governments by recalling to mind the temporary deviations from first principles which occurred in early periods of our history. But the recollection of the Norman Tyranny, of the Forest Cruelties, and the Curfew Bell, serves, by way of contrast, to attach us the more firmly to the system of security we now enjoy against the repetition of such grievous oppressions. Our Constitution is not (as this writer would fain insinuate) founded on such a basis. We can trace its *flamina* much higher. The Norman Conquest did but retard its growth, and for a time check its principles from expanding; but did not destroy, or even ultimately weaken, the beneficial energy of those principles. Through the rapacity and oppressive despotism of the first Monarchs of that line, we can connect some of our dearest privileges with the names of an ALFRED and an EDWARD.

EDWARD. Having by its native vigour recovered from a malady which seemed for a while to threaten its existence, the Constitution has since, from time to time, been deriving new accessions of strength; and we hardly know whether to admire most the beautiful simplicity it displayed in its infant state, or the value and importance of those advantages which it gradually obtained and secured, as circumstances pointed out their necessity. Even perfect as it may now appear the time may come, when further improvements may be suggested by further experience. For who will say, that any human institution can be at any time at the *ne plus ultra* of perfection? Let us not, however, be insensible of the advantage, that, instead of having to subvert, abolish, or expunge, our pleasing task is to secure, to guard, to polish, and to beautify; and let us cautiously refrain from tampering with a system so admirable in theory, so excellent in practice. There is nothing, however valuable, that the injudicious meddler may not spoil; but what madness would it be to sacrifice, in one rash moment, all the advantages which have been obtained during a succession of ages; and, as our author advises, to “begin anew:” that is to say, to lose all the ground we have gained—to give up our hold of all that we possess—to part with the substance for the shadow—and to plunge from the happy state of Law and Liberty into the chaotic abyfs of anarchy and confusion.

After his first assault on Government in general, and his absurd complaint of the entire want of a Constitution in Great Britain, our author proceeds to attack the existing Governments in the detail. And it seems that the Monarchical form excites his keenest vengeance. Nor is this much to be wondered at. For, besides that it is the most vigorous form in which Government can appear, and perhaps the only one which can effectually repress violence and outrage in any extensive community, Monarchy in this country is the principle which gives activity and energy to the whole system; and it is perhaps peculiarly obnoxious to such writers as these, because it is a part of the regal prerogative to be the fountain of justice, and the spring which puts the laws into execution. This is an unpardonable offence—and no pains are spared to represent Royalty as an odious and an useless institution, consisting merely of outward pomp and unnecessary parade, and attended with grievous and unprofitable expence. Endless changes are rung upon the absurdity of bestowing
a Million

a Million a-year upon a single individual. Mr. Paine must have a very contemptible opinion of the understandings of Englishmen, if he thinks they can be imposed upon by such fallacious suggestions (*reasonings* they certainly are not). Does he conceive there is not sense enough in this country to discover that the yearly stipend he alludes to is paid, not to the man, but to the office—not as a sinecure gratuity, but for the most essential and important functions, by the exercise of which we are all benefited?—that it is not given to the individual for his own particular use, but entrusted to him, as the first Magistrate of the country, to be applied to the support of the various branches of executive Government, which are necessary for the administration of public affairs either at home or abroad? These expences are not merely personal to the King, nor are they confined to the support of a numerous family and an extensive household, and the maintenance of that external dignity which is connected with the discharge of the duties of his office, and is therefore more important to his subjects than himself. The same fund defrays the salaries of the Judges, and of the various other Officers of Justice—the appointments of Foreign Ambassadors—of the Officers of State—and of the persons who fill all the subordinate situations in the various and extensive departments of Government, as well as pensions to a large amount given either as a relief for distress, or as a reward for public services *. Although Mr. Paine may chuse to consider the Crown only as a “Metaphor shewn at the Tower for sixpence or a shilling a-piece,” we know and value the strength and vigour of our Monarchy; we feel that its interests are but reciprocal with those of the country; we esteem those useful and efficient prerogatives with which the Constitution has invested our King as a grand source,

* Before the present reign the fund appropriated to the Civil List was composed of divers hereditary branches of revenue, of an uncertain amount, but producing annually in the last reign almost a million. His present Majesty, soon after his accession, of his own accord, most liberally surrendered to the public use this hereditary and improving income, and agreed to accept, as his Civil List, the limited sum of 800,000*l.* which, proving inadequate, has since been augmented to 900,000*l.* per ann.; and the revenues that he has thus abandoned have since increased so much that they now produce upwards of 1,400,000*l.* annually. Thus, notwithstanding the great increase of every article of expence, and the proportionate diminution in the value of money, his present Majesty, with a very numerous family, has really a less income than was enjoyed by his Royal Grandfather, and the public has gained half a million per ann. by the above-mentioned disinterested conduct.

and as an essential security of our national consequence and felicity ; and we see with admiration the exercise of those prerogatives so wisely and cautiously guarded as to render it impossible they should be abused to the detriment of our liberties. Accordingly, we are so far from grudging the liberal allowance which we present by our representatives, at the commencement of each reign, for the support of the regal dignity, as well as for the various charges on the Civil List, that we think no money can be better bestowed.

Another quality of the Monarchy which gives great offence to Mr. Paine, is its hereditary nature. This is equally easy to be accounted for. The bustle, the strife, the confusion, the intrigues, and the cabal, the plots, and the counter-plots, which are sure to attend the election of a King, would be replete with entertainment and gratification to those whose turn of mind or of politics leads them to favour such scenes. But those who prefer a tranquil instantaneous succession to a violent or bloody election—those who think a regular and uninterrupted continuation of the functions of Government preferable to their occasional suspension—those who had rather be governed by a Monarch in a course of descent from an ancient and beloved race, than by one imposed upon them by the strength or address of a party, or by force of arms (which must ever be the case in an elective Monarchy), such persons, I say, will rejoice in the hereditary nature of the Crown ; not to mention that the convulsion necessarily produced by a regal election would disturb and unhinge the whole machine of the Constitution. The inconveniences to which our author refers as arising from the nonage, idiocy, or other incapacity of the person on whom a Crown may devolve in an invariable course of descent, cannot exist, where, as in this country, the power of Parliament extends to provide against such cases : and as to the objections which he urges against an hereditary succession to the Crown, on account of the possible prevalence of personal ambition, or of a tyrannical disposition, in the character of the reigning monarch, they are comparatively of little weight where the powers of the Crown are so limited by, so connected with, and so dependant upon, the other powers known to the Constitution of this country. At a time when the exercise of the kingly powers was free from those important checks which have been since interposed (for many of our most valued securities have been obtained within little more than a century),

tury), this nation proved that it was out of the power of the monarch to violate or alter the Constitution, and to diminish the Liberties of the People. In short, our monarchy, although in its principle hereditary, yet it is by no means indefeasibly so, there being a power in Parliament to pass over, for sufficient cause, an individual who may for any cause be evidently unfit to succeed; deviating, however, no further than necessity requires, from the strict line of succession. And, however the exercise of despotism may tend to corrupt the heart or contract the understanding, the situation, and the limited, though respectable, authority of a King of England are calculated to instil into his mind principles of public virtue, to form him to the habits of good government, to enlarge his understanding, to cultivate in him a regard for the real and permanent interests of his people, and to render him the most benevolent and useful of human beings, “a Patriot Prince!”

It must also be remarked, that the objections arising from the personal qualities of the Monarch are so far from being confined to hereditary succession, that they are in fact more likely to occur, and in no degree more easy to be guarded against, in elective monarchies. The experience of the world, corresponding with the nature of things, informs us, that the competition for a Crown has oftener been decided by force or intrigue, and by those qualities with which they are generally connected, than by the influence of personal merit; and that, whatever may be the fluctuations of character or talents in any particular family, hereditary succession is on the whole much more likely to furnish Sovereigns qualified and disposed to promote the happiness of their subjects, than the caprice, tumult, and disorder of popular election, where the contest is frequently decided by violence in favour of unprincipled ambition, or where those who are unable to succeed in their own persons unite in supporting some nominal Sovereign, whom, from his weakness and incapacity, they think themselves likely to govern.

Mr. Paine having laboured, though I trust very unsuccessfully, to create a prejudice against the Crown of this kingdom, he next endeavours, with much malignant scurrility, to seduce the affections of a loyal people from the Sovereign on the throne. He wishes to weaken the attachment subsisting between this Prince and his people, by representing the royal lineage as connected by very slender ties with the country, and as proceeding from a foreign stock,
recently

recently imported, by an injudicious choice, to govern a country to which it was before a stranger. How false, how insolent to Britons, are such insinuations! Does this vain and malevolent writer fancy it to be in his power to make us forget, that the Sovereign who is dear to our hearts, both for his personal virtues and for the attachment he has always shewn to the Constitution, is also the descendant of the Original Founder of the British Monarchy? The various channels through which the royal blood has flowed for nearly one thousand years, are at length happily united in an illustrious Protestant line; and the ancient Crown of this kingdom is now worn, with hereditary right, by a Prince, who, while he sits on the throne of his ancestors, reigns with more unlimited sway in the affections of his subjects.

Neither can it be in the power of wanton and licentious indecency to stifle our attachment to persons and families whose memory ought ever to be dear to Englishmen. It is not, surely, for malice and misrepresentation to make us forget, that the Houses of ORANGE and BRUNSWICK have rendered us essential services at critical times, and that to them, under Providence, we are indebted for the continued enjoyment of privileges which distinguish us from the rest of the world. Such names have been hitherto mentioned with veneration by our most ardent and enlightened patriots: such names will continue to be venerated by all who, being rationally as well as fervently attached to the Constitution itself, cannot remember with indifference those persons and families which have been the instruments of its preservation.

It may not be inapplicable here to observe, that nothing can be more different from a pure and generous spirit of real patriotism, than that coarse and illiberal disposition which delights in abuse and invective against all persons invested with power and authority. The former can even oppose with respect, and will render serious and determined resistance (should that ever become necessary for good purposes) more weighty and efficacious, by the dignified decency from which it never departs: the latter appears to place its principal gratification in railing against the higher powers: it seems to depend for personal consequence upon attacking the dignity of superiors: and wishes it to be considered as a proof of magnanimity and independent spirit, boldly to treat with gross scurrility characters and situations which the rest of the world look up to with respect: and, like the unblushing profligate, it delights to wound and

to torture the feelings of those who retain a sense of propriety.

What can be more base and ungenerous than the disposition I allude to? The order of civil society (partaking of the invariable principle of nature itself) requires a progressive gradation: but the highest ranks, exposed as they are by their elevation to the shafts of malice and envy, are little coveted by the unprejudiced philosophical mind, that justly appreciates the advantages and disadvantages of respective situations. The station of Royalty itself, with all the dazzling glare which surrounds it, is far from being enviable: arduous as it is elevated—the symbol of power, but clogged with restraints unknown to inferior rank—impeded in the enjoyment of numberless individual comforts—debarred even of some of the most common, and at the same time the most valuable privileges of nature—shackled with forms and ceremonies—conspicuous always by the blaze of its own rays, and precluded from the delicious gratifications that belong to seclusion and privacy—beset with anxious cares, and eminently exposed to calumny, to plots, and conspiracies—while the high and important office of King, for the sake of the public good, calls for such sacrifices from the Man, how unworthy and ungenerous must it be to delight in wounding his personal feelings, and in planting his Crown with additional thorns! How much more consistent with the duty as well as the interest of subjects, to alleviate his cares, and to smooth his rugged path by demonstrations of fidelity, loyalty, and affection! It is not by indulging such sentiments under a mild and a just Government, that we shall be either pledged or disposed to submit to oppression. The feeling, the generous, and the loyal character would be the most strenuous, and the most manly, in defence of its rights, and of those of the country at large. A nation so composed would be the last to be attacked, but would never be enslaved; for the rational loyalty of a free people is itself a bulwark of their freedom, and by uniting them closely together in one common sentiment, as well as one common interest, preserves concord and happiness at home, while it creates consequence and respectability abroad*.

* In the year 1771, the Rev. Mr. HORNE expressed himself as follows: "I would offend the Sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent."—"Whoever or whatever is Sovereign, demands the respect and support of the people. The union is formed for their happiness, which cannot be had without mutual respect; and he counsels maliciously who would persuade either to a wanton breach of it."—It is to be hoped, that in 1792 JOHN HORNE TOOME, Esq. is under the influence of the same sentiments.

It is one of the blessings of this country to have a monarch who reigns not only the King but the fond father of his people ; while their cheerful and affectionate loyalty constitutes the happiness of his life, the chief glory of his Crown, and the strength, prosperity, and splendour of the nation.

And shall we, while the gloom, the dismay, and the universal stagnation, occasioned by the yet recent malady of our common Father are fresh in our recollection—while our hearts still vibrate with the transports of joy which assailed us on his welcome and almost unexpected recovery—shall we countenance the most audacious insults on his person, and the most malignant attacks upon his Crown ? Or shall we demonstrate our attachment to himself and his family, by consigning the authors of such attempts to their proper station of contempt and infamy ?

As the direct way to demolish any building is, Sampson-like, to pull down the pillars by which it is supported ; in order to abolish Monarchy, it is found expedient to attack the aristocratical branch of government *. Hence a violent outcry against orders of Nobility naturally forms a part of the system to the introduction of which Mr. Paine's writings are directed. He seems very desirous that his readers should consider the rank of Nobility as consisting merely in a frivolous exterior distinction, in " ribbands, garters, and nick-names † ;" another insult on the understanding and experience of Englishmen ; who know, by the aid of both, that a mixed Government and limited Monarchy require not only a gradation of rank, but also an intermediate legislative order, interposed between the Monarch and the popular representative, which, depending for its own preservation on that of the other two branches, is rendered thereby the natural guardian of both, and an insuperable barrier against the encroachment of either.

* Thus, in the last century, when a small portion of the Commons, by the aid of military force, had usurped the supreme power, covering their designs under the stale, and generally false pretext of the authority of the People, they still found that the existence of a House of Peers, disheartened and almost deserted as that assembly then was, formed nevertheless a barrier to the completion of their crimes;—and accordingly they thought it necessary to annul, by a vote, the authority of that House, before they could proceed upon the detestable and infamous plan of murdering their Sovereign under mock forms of law.

† Mr. Paine's ingenious definition for the term " Title."

The people of this country are by no means such superficial observers as Mr. Paine supposes or wishes them to be.—Far from confining their attention to externals, they can see that the pomp and splendour annexed to the rank of English Nobility, are but appendages to a high situation and to important public duties both of the legislative and judicial kind. Such a situation and such duties should surely be ever accompanied with something to impress the senses : for it is not in the nature of man to be always engaged in abstract operations. Nor is this Order, with us, possessed of any peculiar privileges, but such as are requisite for the free and beneficial exercise of those functions which it possesses for the good of the whole. In every other respect, the Peer and the Peasant are under the equal administration of equal laws, which know not any difference between them in regard to those important rights which are founded in nature, and to secure which is the grand object of society.

From such a community of interest with persons of this elevated station, who would be equally injured with ourselves by any infringement on the rights of the subject, we derive an important additional security for the preservation of our liberties. And thus the Peers of Great Britain, though not actually deputed, do virtually possess a representative character, obliging them cautiously and firmly to protect those rights which they enjoy in common, and which they can enjoy only in common with the People at large ; while the existence of such a rank in the State, besides its other advantages, is conducive to the promotion of a spirit of virtuous enterprize and of honourable emulation ; and its hereditary nature is necessary both to render it independent of the Crown, and to insure its stability and its permanence.

Mr. Paine, in his endeavours to create a prejudice against Monarchy and Aristocracy, retails very artfully the common-place topics of objection to which each is liable in its simple form ; and he as artfully avoids all mention of the disadvantages attending a Government consisting solely of a Democratic representation. But it might not be unfair to ask him, Whether in that beverage of which perhaps his libations are sometimes composed, he finds that the spirit and the limpid element, the sweet and the acid ingredients, do each retain the same precise properties when combined together, which they severally possessed in their separate and independent state ; or, Whether they are not blended that each may modify and correct the other, and that

that a new and agreeable effect may be produced from the union? The allusion is a very familiar one, but I hope excusable if found to be apposite. The Government of this country is compounded of those three forms in which alone Government has ever appeared, and which have ever proved highly objectionable in their separate exercise; but by blending them together in wise proportions, it secures the advantages of each, while it escapes the inconveniences which they are calculated to produce. It is this union which has caused the happiness and splendour of Great Britain, and which affords a solid and permanent basis for the freedom of its inhabitants; it is this assemblage which has attracted the admiration of the world, and called forth the applauses of those who have been most distinguished for their talents and powers of discrimination.

One of the greatest Political Characters of the present age, whose talents at least nobody will dispute, and who from his recent conduct seems inclined to push his notions of Liberty at least sufficiently far, thought it nevertheless necessary to vindicate himself from the suspicion of not affording his entire approbation to that mixture of forms which constitutes the British Government: and in a discussion on the Quebec Bill, in the course of the last Session, he stated it to be his decided opinion, that every simple form of Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, was essentially bad; and that there could be no good or complete system of Government without a proper mixture of all three. Such, he observed, had always been his sentiments; and whoever thought otherwise of him, had been mistaken; especially if they thought he was an enemy to Aristocracy: the direct contrary was the fact; and there was no man in that House who considered a proper and well-regulated Aristocracy, *such as formed a part of the British Constitution*, more essential to the formation of a good Government than he did; that a certain degree of Aristocracy was absolutely necessary as a poise between the prerogative of the Crown acting against the rights of the People, and the influence and liberty of the People acting against the Monarchical power; and that therefore a mixture so constituted that each was a check upon the other, he conceived to be the Constitution of this country, and the best Constitution in the world*.

* See Mr. Fox's Speech on the Quebec Bill.

Nor was the testimony of the most enlightened of the Ancients wanting in favour of such a system of Government, in point of principle, long before it was ever reduced into practice. Thus Tacitus regarded the triple form as highly deserving of admiration; but as he could only view it in theory, it appeared to him rather to be coveted and admired than likely to be effected; and as a degree of perfection in Government not likely to be either attained or preserved in practice *. Our long experience has, however, proved that his apprehensions in these respects were unfounded, and in all other respects has confirmed his opinion. Cicero also expressly describes a Constitution similar to ours, though he had never seen it realized, as the most perfect that could be supposed to exist; and he bestows upon it his unqualified applause in terms remarkably apposite and descriptive †. I might also adduce other testimonies from ancient wisdom to the same purport, were it at all necessary.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on particular objections, which, when thoroughly understood, are not pointed so much to the abstract nature of particular forms of Government, as to the existence of any Government at all; so that whatever form might be substituted, if it were efficacious, and capable of answering the purposes for which all Governments are established, the same dissatisfaction and the same cavil would ensue: all the old, that is, all the subsisting and long-established Governments are condemned in the lump; and what is called "the new representative system engrafted on Democracy" is stated to be the only good plan of Government. But where upon the whole surface of the Globe is this plan reduced into practice? Where does it now exist, except in our author's brain? for, according to him, it "rejects Monarchy both elective and hereditary." It must also, I presume, reject Aristocracy, to which he ascribes in substance "the same vices and defects" as to Monarchy. Therefore, upon Mr. Paine's own principles, even the form of Government traced out

* Cunctas nationes et urbes, populos, aut priores, aut singuli regunt; dilecta ex his et constituta Republicæ forma LAUDARI facilius quam præferre; vel si evenit invidiosa diuturna esse potest.

† Statuo esse opt. nre constitutionem rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali optimo et populari, modice confusa . . .

by the New Constitution of France *, as well as that now existing in America, must be radically bad, as being inconsistent with his "new (fangled) "representative system." For in the former, hereditary Monarchy is still professed to be interwoven, though, for want of an aristocratical branch, it has been already so much encroached upon, as to be useless to any salutary purpose; and the latter country, after a trial for several years of the pure democratical representative system, has found it necessary to adopt both Monarchy and Aristocracy: for the President, under that denomination, is invested with monarchical prerogatives; and the Senate constitutes a Middle Chamber: so that even American experience contradicts all Mr. Paine's notions of Government †.

Nor is it probable, that the New Constitution of Poland

* With respect to the French Revolution, which, with all its train of calamities, Mr. Paine would, doubtless, be glad to see imitated in this country, the People of Great Britain, happy, successful, and flourishing in their own concerns, have nothing more to do with that event, than as a matter of distant, though interesting observation. The miserable and distracted state to which it has brought a once great and flourishing kingdom, far from being calculated to recommend the experiment of Revolutions, even in those countries where Despotism still maintains its sway, serves as a beacon to warn mankind of the danger of rash innovation, of mad reform, and of visionary plans of Government. With regard to ourselves, its peculiar operation should be to make us prize still more highly the system of Liberty and of Law, which is secured to us by our own excellent Constitution. The generous sympathy of the English character cannot however but be called forth into emotions of pity and commiseration, when we behold the extreme confusion, anarchy, and wretchedness, to which, in so short a time, our ancient rivals have been reduced; on whom misfortunes, if possible, still more severe seem to impend. But while we thus feelingly and sincerely lament the distresses of our neighbours;—and while with moderation we are improving those fair advantages which unavoidably result to ourselves from their calamitous condition; we should surely be induced by such considerations both to exercise redoubled care in preserving, and also to enjoy with increased thankfulness, that serene and prosperous tranquility, foreign and domestic, with which Providence seems disposed to bless this favoured Isle.

† AMERICA, during the short period since the establishment of her Independence, has found, that the democratic form was not calculated for the government of three millions of people, though spread over so immense a territory; and in the year 1787 she re-modelled her Constitution, assimilating it, as nearly as circumstances would allow, to that of Great Britain, by adopting the triple form of Government. In respect to the Monarchical part, it was to be expected that, like many other new States, she would at first fill that office by election; and the General under whose conduct success had crowned a long and bloody war, was, according to all human experience, the natural object of universal and peaceful choice. But when no such source of general agreement shall exist, and when various claimants, prompted by ambition, shall be supported by clashing interests, the Crown of America, should it continue to preserve its unity, will probably become hereditary.

will better accord with our Author's sentiments ; for the Crown of that country, from being elective, has thereby been rendered hereditary, and its prerogatives have been strengthened and enlarged : and what is perhaps *worst of all*, this change has been brought about without any infringement of order and public tranquillity. It should seem, therefore, that none either of the old or of the new Governments can afford any gratification to Mr. Paine's fastidious palate ! But in seven years the scene is to be entirely changed ; for that is the utmost period allowed by his prophetic spirit, "for the continuance of Monarchy or Aristocracy in any of the enlightened countries of Europe."

If Mr. Paine and his advocates should still contend, that his system does not go the full length of absolutely excluding every kind of Government, it would be well if they would agree on the proper denomination of that species of Government which his principles tend to establish. Perhaps if any term can be found to describe it, none will accord better than the familiar and homely appellation of *Mob Government*. If the Supreme Authority, appearing in this shape, assume the name of *Freedom*, it is entitled to do so only because it leaves people *free* to do all the mischief they please, and restrains them merely from doing good.—It abolishes all subsisting laws without the delay of a formal repeal ; and in lieu of a regular and extensive system, nicely adjusted and calmly applied almost to every case that can be the subject of legal reference, or that can occur in improved and civilized Society, it substitutes the caprice and violence of the multitude, and thereby supercedes all the regular forms of justice. In other words, it rules by that species of law which is usually called the "law of the strongest : " a law which, whenever it is exercised, abrogates every other, demolishes at once all the powers, establishments, and institutions which were before recognized, and suddenly lays in ruins the former Government, and the entire Constitution itself.

In a *political* view, this system of Government violates and dissolves all the foreign connections and engagements which nations have formed for their mutual security, and breaks through every obligation of treaty. The law of nations is held no more sacred than the law of the land ; and while the public faith is broken, the honour of the country is tarnished, its weight and respectability diminished, and its commerce and revenues annihilated.

In a *domestic* view, under such a system, all orders will be levelled—all distinctions effaced—the rights of property (formerly held sacred) annulled, and security and tranquillity made to depend on the capricious will of an unrestrained multitude.

In a *moral* view, all those obligations which have been hitherto considered as sacred and inviolable will be cancelled. The natural love of our country, together with all sense of duty and gratitude to the state which protected the otherwise defenceless moments of birth and infancy, will be extirpated—and an attachment to our native soil will no longer prevail. The useful impulses of parental affection and filial duty, of conjugal love, fraternal regard, and friendly attachment, and all the ties which had before connected man with man, and rendered them mutually subservient to each other's felicity, all these will give way before a mad and unbridled licentiousness—heating the imagination, intoxicating the mind, inflaming the passions, and corrupting the heart.

In a *philosophical* view, civilization, which had arrived at a high degree of perfection under the genial influence of settled government and certain laws, will recede much more rapidly than it had advanced. The decline of literature, the extinction of the arts and sciences, must surely follow, when the supreme power is in the hands of the illiterate Many; before whose Gothic ravages the monuments of fame and merit, the depositories of learning, and the archives of science, will speedily disappear. The gloom of night will then again succeed to the splendor of day; barbarism will revive; and a new age of romantic chivalry will be wanted, as the harbinger and the instrument of a more perfect civilization.

Such would be the effects of a Government founded upon Mr. Paine's principles. But it is plain that human nature cannot long subsist in a state so little calculated to provide for its wants and necessities. Therefore the Government of the Mob, destructive as it is despotic, is necessarily of very short duration. The bulk of the people soon become weary of a condition of such restlessness, and pant for quiet and tranquillity. They find that their causes of complaint (whether real or imaginary) are alarmingly increased; their difficulties greatly augmented, their resources in proportion diminished, and their enjoyments, their means of subsistence, nay, even the recompence for bodily labour, and handicraft skill, become, like every thing else, precarious and insecure. At length, some new combination of power, prompted by ambition, and probably supported by those who were foremost in the subversion of order and in the clamour for "rights," takes advantage of the harrassed and enfeebled condition of the country; and after meeting with more or less

less resistance, according to the strength or weakness of contending cabals, assumes to itself unlimited dominion; to preserve which, it must exert the most absolute and despotic powers, and rule with a rod of iron. The people, in the mean time, suffering from the ravages of such a convulsion, are reduced to submit to a new and galling yoke, which is better only than an entire absence of all regular Government. Farther than ever from obtaining the privileges held out to them, they find themselves destitute even of those which they had before possessed; and, having relinquished a state of real comfort and happiness, they at length, after a long and calamitous struggle, sink into a miserable and disgraceful servitude.

What a pleasing contrast to such dreadful scenes, is to be found in the happy state of this country, where, instead of an ungovernable spirit of licentiousness, inspiring terror throughout the land, and making itself known by its excesses, we see the effects of genuine Liberty operating as a real, an universal, and a permanent blessing---founded in law---the equal and inviolable birthright of every individual---giving a manliness and an energy to the national character, and being the source as well as the security of our greatness, prosperity, and happiness as a people. Who is there, of the most clamorous assertors of pretended rights, that will point out an instance in which the liberty of a single individual can be illegally invaded in this country? Where is the power that can deprive the British subject of the protection of the laws? And shall we listen with complacency to those who counsel us to exchange this state of mild and rational freedom and of tranquil happiness for savage ferociousness, intestine dissensions, and outrageous violence? Shall we clasp the demon of discord to our breasts, even while the fiend is waving the torch of sedition? No! let us rather shew ourselves deserving of the name and of the privileges of Englishmen, not only by a resolute defence of our glorious Constitution itself, but by a marked indignation against those who treat it with insult, or aim at its subversion.

It is one of our peculiar and most estimable advantages to possess legal, orderly, and constitutional means for the correction as well as the prevention of abuses; and thereby every motive for violence is obviated, and every excuse for disorder taken away. While true to ourselves, we are invulnerable. Our grand and constant object should be to preserve and enforce the true *spirit* of the Constitution, and we should resort to *that* alone for an explanation of our rights; regarding it as our

Polar star, not only to direct and regulate in all cases of difficulty and danger, but to be our constant and invariable guide through every part of our political course. We should cautiously guard and preserve the constitutional independence of each distinct part of our government, and consider every infringement upon any of their regular functions (whether deliberative or executive) as deranging the balance, and as tending to the destruction of the whole machine. Above all, we should be both vigilant and honest in the exercise of the important duties of electors; and by observing and enforcing the many salutary regulations which the Legislature has interposed to check the too prevalent spirit of bribery and corruption, we should do all in our power to preserve the purity and independence of the popular part of our Government. And if, in spite of all our care, evils and abuses should creep in, we should resort to constitutional remedies alone for their correction; and consider as our worst foes all who advise the application of any means which are not so authorized and prescribed.

It may also be of use to bear in mind, that the best of all possible institutions, operating upon a subject so defective as human nature, must ever in point of practice fall short of absolute theoretical perfection. Such a consideration will not only preserve us from visionary and romantic wishes for what is really unattainable (than which nothing can more pervert the proper and useful bias of the mind), but it will also guide to the real source of defects, and to the most natural means both of preventing and of counteracting them. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the beneficial energy even of our own excellent Constitution will ever be checked, in proportion to the prevalence of dissipation and depravity in the manners and in the minds of the people. Instead, therefore, of imputing blame where none is deserved, let us trace evils to their actual cause, and there apply the remedy. Let every real friend to his Country and its Constitution do all in his power, by precept and by example, to inculcate and recommend a spirit of order, economy, temperance, and industry, and the practice of those duties which are prescribed by morality and religion.—Let him resist as much as he can the increase of luxury and dissipation, which enervate the mind, degrade the character, disqualify for manly and noble exertions, and open all the sources of corruption.---Let him, in short, exert himself in aid of magistracy and the police to check the baneful contagion of vice and immorality, remembering

that an independence of mind, so congenial to freedom, is also nearly allied to purity and simplicity of manners. —While the Throne exhibits so excellent a pattern of all the virtues which ornament humanity and benefit mankind, how should the influence of the bright and useful example be communicated from rank to rank, till it pervade the utmost recesses of society!—Then, indeed, would civil liberty be invigorated and adorned by private virtue and domestic happiness.

I am not now affecting to sermonize, or even to moralize —I am viewing the matter in a *political* light only.—The *moral* and *religious* display of these topics is the peculiar province of the *pulpit*. But their *civil* importance calls for the attention of the statesman, the philanthropist, and the citizen. It is possible that the depraved manners of a people may not only endanger their freedom, but render it a curse instead of a blessing—and liberty, by degenerating into licentiousness, becomes its own certain destroyer. But without carrying our apprehensions so far, it is a truth which concerns us most nearly, and which cannot be too often repeated, that the benefits derived from our CONSTITUTION will exist in greater or less perfection, in proportion to the prevalence of a virtuous principle among ourselves: those, therefore, who wish for the continued and complete enjoyment of that great and invaluable blessing will neglect nothing that can tend to preserve it in purity and vigour, to enforce its true spirit, or to promote the genuine operation of its salutary influence.—They will venerate it themselves, and recommend it by their own example to the veneration of others.—They will inculcate in their children an early and habitual acquaintance with its history, its nature, and its excellencies, together with a steady and a rational attachment to its principles.—They will support it, at all times, by a firm and resolute, though a decent and orderly adherence; knowing that irregularity and violence would involve a direct violation of its spirit: and they will, if occasion should require, be ready with cheerfulness to risk their lives in its defence.

So shall the BRITISH CONSTITUTION, the suitable and happy portion of those who deserve to be free, remain firm, immoveable, and unimpaired for succeeding ages; secure against the attacks of visionary theorists and of wicked incendiaries; and uniting within itself the security and energy of a well-regulated Government, and the utmost attainable degree of real political LIBERTY.

T H E E N D.

PUBLICATIONS

Printed by Order of

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER IV.

CONTAINING

An Answer to the Declaration of the "Friends of the Liberty of the Press." Speech of the Lord President of the Session, addressed to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh,

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Temple bar, Strand; where the Bookfellers in Town and Country may be served with any Quantity.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

AN ANSWER TO THE DECLARATION OF THE PERSONS CALLING THEMSELVES, FRIENDS OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

AT a critical moment, when Britons from one corner of the kingdom to the other, have judged it necessary to form themselves into associations, for the maintenance of the constitution, which had been most daringly insulted and menaced, the public see with surprize, but not without indignation, a counter association rising up, protesting against the other associations, and endeavouring to counteract their effect. The gentlemen thus assembling themselves in so singular and extraordinary a manner, have thought fit to assume the appellation of Friends to the Freedom of the Press. But those who observe the licentious excess to which the Freedom of the Press is still daily carried, will be of opinion that the press stands in no great need of the proffered protection of this new formed Phalanx of defenders.

A

At

At the second meeting of these gentlemen they entered their formal protest, by way of declaration, against those associations which had been formed for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and for the continuance of the prosperity, and of the constitutional rights of this free and happy country. There is but little danger that this protest should mislead any one who is at all acquainted with the principles and practice of the British constitution, particularly in that important part of it which relates to the administration of criminal justice. But as the work in question assumes the form of argument, it may not be amiss to suggest a few observations (though perhaps sufficiently obvious in themselves) tending to point out the fallacy of the principles on which it is founded.

The fundamental principle of this performance, that the power of accusation against offenders who have violated the laws is confined to the supreme executive magistrate, is in direct contradiction both to the principles and the daily practice of the judicial polity of this country in criminal cases. In point of fact, every individual has been, from time immemorial, admitted, in his private capacity, and in the character of a prosecutor, though in the name of the King, to call for the execution of the laws upon those who have violated them. In point of law, it is the undoubted constitutional privilege of every individual to exercise that right. In point of principle, such a right is inseparable from a free state, where the laws are the birth-right of every one, and the violation of the laws is an injury to the people at large, of which every one has a right to complain. The maxim of these pretended friends to liberty might be admitted under a despotic government, where it is convenient, and perhaps necessary, that the executive power may either administer or withhold justice at its discretion. But in a free country; the execution of the laws, according to prescribed forms, must be ever at the call of the people; and it would be destructive of all liberty and security, if the crown, or its agents, could, either by design or neglect, refuse, prevent, or retard, the administration of justice. It is therefore one of the greatest advantages derived from the British Constitution; that while the admirable institutions of Grand and Petit juries afford the most absolute security that justice shall be faithfully and impartially administered, the executive power is bound to lend its agency to every one who demands it in the pursuit of so important an object. Nor
can

can any just cause of complaint arise from hence ; since every one standing forward in the character of a prosecutor, is responsible to the accused person, and to the public at large, for the purity of his motives, and the regularity of his conduct. It never yet, I believe, occurred to any one, to object to a prosecution because it was set on foot by private individuals :—such a ground of objection was reserved for the discovery of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press. But if, at their suggestion, it should occur to any culprit to avail himself of such a mode of defence, he will only find himself deceived, and his objection will certainly be over-ruled, unless the whole frame and system of criminal justice in this country should be subverted.

Particular care is taken in the protest alluded to, to deny the right of accusation to *uninjured* individuals, suggesting thereby a distinction with which the criminal law is unacquainted ; for that branch of our laws knows nothing of the private and separate injuries of individuals, but denounces punishment only upon offences against the community ; therefore it is totally immaterial in the character and situation of a prosecutor, whether he has sustained any private injury or not : but as every one is supposed to be injured by a violation of the laws, every one is intitled to call for justice. And private wrongs are merged in the more important consideration of the public welfare.

In short, the fundamental principle of the protest, negating the right of individual accusation is so glaringly fallacious, that it is impossible to account for its being adopted by intelligent men, on any other supposition, than that they considered it as a necessary ground on which to cavil at those Associations which are now formed in every quarter of the kingdom for the preservation of the public security, and of the constitution itself. It is undoubtedly a principal object of these associations to unite, and engage to lend assistance to the civil magistrate, in discovering and bringing to justice offenders of the most dangerous description ; those who endeavour to subvert the very basis of our civil rights, and of our social happiness. But the right of individual accusation against public offenders being once established, it follows as a necessary consequence, that private persons may act either separately or jointly in promoting, by regular means, the due execution of the violated laws. And on particular occasions, it is a duty they owe to themselves, and to society, to co-operate and assist each other in detecting and denouncing offenders to the civil

magistrate, that he may put into exercise the grand constitutional spring of justice, Trial by Jury. Here also daily and general practice confirms the right which seems obnoxious to these gentlemen who appear so anxious for what they choose to call the Freedom of the Press. For besides that associations have repeatedly been formed for the purpose of checking by prosecution the growth of particular offences, the suppression of which seemed to call for remarkable vigilance and activity (of which the case of swindling affords an instance) there is scarcely a parish in the kingdom where the inhabitants are not united upon a similar principle, to prevent the perpetration of those ordinary crimes which tend more immediately to invade their common security. It is really surprising, that the zeal of these protesting gentlemen never discovered any deviation from constitutional principles in such instances. But while by their long and uninterrupted silence they have recognized the legality of the principle on which these ordinary associations have been formed, affording thereby their own sanction to that principle, they are now driven to the miserable shift of denying it altogether, in order to prevent its application to an extraordinary case, in which they choose to take a particular interest. It is true, lest all other grounds should fail them, they particularly allude to what they call *State Accusations*. But surely it is not possible by technical or formal distinctions, to confound the plain sense of Englishmen so as to make them believe that they have not the same constitutional rights and means of security against those offences which aim at the total subversion of society itself, as they possess in those cases where the tendency and the consequences of the crime are much more limited and attended with infinitely less danger to the community. In the discussion of general principles, no good can be derived from personal allusions; otherwise, the particular tenderness of the gentlemen in question for the class of offenders whom they wish to exempt from the ordinary modes of prosecution, might afford a very fertile field of conjecture. But the plain dictates of common sense, operating upon an unbiassed mind, must suggest, that if there be any species of crime that seems more immediately levelled at the government of a country, the least invidious mode of pursuing justice in such cases must be to put it in a train of prosecution which is the most unconnected with the officers of government. Perhaps the impediment to justice necessarily occasioned by the delays attending prosecutions commenced by the Crown Officers may, with
some

some persons, operate as a recommendation, and give such forms a decided preference over the more speedy proceedings of the quarter-sessions. And if once such prosecutions could be restricted to the interference of government, the object would then be by cavil and by clamour to obviate their effect, if not to render them obnoxious.

It is suggested, that the associations which have given so much offence tend, by creating a prejudice, to deprive persons accused of seditious writings or practices of a fair trial. Such a suggestion is very far from being complimentary to juries. What! are we to be told that jurymen can be rendered less cautious, less tender, less conscientious, with regard to persons accused of an offence, because the offence itself is a just object of particular alarm and indignation? To assert that, is to deny one of the grand excellencies of the Trial by Jury, viz. that let the circumstances of the case or of the times bear ever so hard upon the culprit, he is sure to receive impartial justice at the hands of his Peers. With equal reason it might have been urged, that the insuperable abhorrence naturally excited by the crime of murder, tends to deprive persons accused thereof of a fair trial.—Nay, to allude to a recent instance, was it in the power of all the prejudice which existed against the person called The Monster (and more prejudice could never exist in any possible case) to deprive him of the advantage of a fair and candid investigation? And if among the numerous recent cases of prosecutions for seditious writings, a single instance could have been adduced where the defendant had not received an impartial trial, it would not have escaped the vigilance of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press.

It deserves notice, that these insinuations, so unfavourable and uncandid to jurymen, proceed from persons who are foremost on all occasions to profess their attachment and their respect to the mode of Trial by Jury; from persons who distinguished themselves in the framing and supporting of the Libel Bill; and who lose no occasion of making that measure their theme of boasting and self-applause. How are such inconsistencies to be reconciled, but by supposing that, whatever was pretended, the real motive which prevailed with *them* on that occasion was a hope of furnishing seditious writers with some security against conviction; and that though the experiment has hitherto failed, the idea is not abandoned; that in more

favourable times, when, according to the possibility which is never lost sight of, "*the best government may become unpopular,*" * the measure may succeed better, according to the real intent of those who framed it.

It is also deserving of observation, that the persons who step forward on this occasion, in defiance of the voice of the nation (and who, far from paying any deference to that voice, declare that they will unceasingly persevere in opposing it) assume the honorable appellation of Friends of the Freedom of the Press. The term, Freedom of the Press, may be used either to signify that salutary freedom which is characteristic of a free people, or that licentious freedom which knows no bounds, which defies all law, order, and decorum, and which is a most destructive engine both to the Press, and to every other barrier of the constitution. It is a question both curious and interesting, in which of the above senses the Freedom of the Press is befriended by these gentlemen. If we judge of that question from the occasion on which they now step forward, there is every appearance of their having assembled in direct and insolent defiance of the honest verdict of twelve Jurors, who had just before supported the sound and constitutional Liberty of the Press, by convicting the most infamous Libeller of the Constitution this Country ever knew; such a construction is also strongly fortified by the vote of thanks, given at their first meeting at Free Mason's Hall, to a learned Advocate, for having exerted his extraordinary powers (but happily for the Country to no effect) in endeavouring to prevent that conviction. With all possible liberality of allowance for the latitude of professional exertions, this extraforensic proceeding; incapable of any such explanation, could be ascribed only to an attachment to the cause; an attachment of that sincere and ardent nature, which is augmented by difficulties, and which shines brightest in misfortune.

The salutary Freedom of the Press has been long exposed to the greatest danger, by the most daring and scandalous excesses. But the protection of these its professed friends has been withheld till the country at large, shocked and alarmed at the enormous extent of the evil, demanded that the Abuses of the Press should be subjected to the wholesome restraint of the laws. If the formation of a party, at such a juncture, to defend the Freedom of the Press, could leave any doubt whether it were the sound Constitutional Freedom,

* See the Declaration, page 11.

or the licentious and unconstitutional Abuse of the Press, that was likely to be thus defended, it would certainly be candid to refer that question to those persons who seek, by means of the Press, to subvert all order and government and to introduce anarchy and confusion. The probable answer of such incendiaries (if their real sentiments could be obtained) would be *that their drooping hopes were revived when they saw these gentlemen stand forward in such a manner—that they derived from thence encouragement and support: and that without such assistance, their case would be absolutely desperate; that they were penetrated with gratitude for the subscription which was generously resolved upon to assist them in eluding justice, or to meliorate their condition, should the law lay hold of them—that they admired the judgment of these their best friends in choosing their ground; as the only chance for success to the common cause lay in endeavouring to confound with the liberty the licentiousness of the Press, in blinding the sense of mankind to the too obvious difference between theory and sedition, and in vociferating upon all occasions, that the sacred right of freedom of sentiment, was mortally wounded by every successful attempt to punish treasonable or seditious publications, however glaring their malice, or dangerous their tendency*: perhaps these worthy persons might add, *that they particularly wish their friends to persevere till they can establish their choice doctrine, that no writing should be deemed seditious, unless, besides the writing itself, some overt act should be proved in support of the charge, and that, if once the protection of such a maxim could be obtained, they would take upon themselves to answer for the rest.*

It is impossible to conclude without noticing the coolness and intrepidity of these Gentlemen, with regard to those dangers which have agitated and alarmed the whole Country. It may be gathered from their protest upon this occasion, that their minds are quiet and free from apprehension as to the danger, though exceedingly alarmed at the defence. The Associations which had for their object the subversion of the Constitution, neither excited their fears, nor called forth their censure.—But no sooner are Associations formed for the maintenance of the Constitution and of the Laws, than they are full of apprehension and ready with reproof. Shewing thereby that, however ready they always are in their professions at least, to bow to the public opinion, they can, when it suits their purpose, fly in the face of the Country and insult its universal sentiments and feelings. Their sug-

gestion that the present alarm of imminent danger, has been spread through the Kingdom by the Ministers of the Crown, is not at least very decent. The people are certainly not much obliged by the supposition, that their senses and understandings can be played with at pleasure by Ministers. But the fallacy of this insinuation is as obvious as its indecency is reprehensible; for nothing was ever more plain, than that the people judged of their own danger by their own senses;—that the conduct of Ministry which is thus censured, was in the most perfect unison with the public voice, and that it rather followed than led the general wish and the honest conviction of an enlightened Nation.

The general, spontaneous, and independent voice of the people has been expressed with a fervour and an unanimity beyond the example of any former period. The associations, in affording an unequivocal testimony and an eternal memorial of that voice, have not only guarded the constitution from immediate danger, but have also testified to the whole world that it is impregnable. The associators at the Crown and Anchor are entitled to the peculiar satisfaction of reflecting that they led the van at a momentous and apparently perilous juncture. The universal imitation of their example, affords the best possible commendation of their conduct, and holds out to them the noblest reward—the approbation of their countrymen. In full possession of this reward, they must see with indifference the cavils of those who are hostile to their cause, and who repine at its success. Their best answer to such cavils, is a reference to their principles and proceedings; and as that reference cannot be made with more fairness and impartiality than by a recital of the plan, which in the early part of their institution they ventured to recommend for the formation of similar associations, it may not be amiss to subjoin hereto a copy of that plan, which has been literally adopted by a great number of the associations, which have been formed in various parts of the country, and which may be considered as *implan-*
annium in point of substance.

*Plan recommended by the Society at the Crown
and Anchor, for forming other Societies for
preserving Liberty and Property against Re-
publicans and Levellers.*

WE whose names are hereunto subscribed,
Considering it to be at all times the constitutional right
of Englishmen to promote, either separately or jointly, but
by regular means, the due execution of the violated laws; and,

Conceiving that the present moment calls loudly upon
all good citizens to exert the above right against those who
disturb society by seditious or treasonable practices—

Sensible also of the advantages which we and all our fel-
low-citizens derive from that glorious constitution which
was established by the wisdom and valour of our ancestors
—determined to maintain with our lives and fortunes that
constitution, together with our rights and liberties which
grow out of it, and to transmit the same to our posterity
—and actuated by a steady and affectionate loyalty to our
beloved sovereign—

Do solemnly declare and resolve,

FIRST, That we will jointly and severally, by such
means as the law allows and prescribes, exert our vigilance
and activity in discovering and bringing to justice all persons
who shall, either by publishing or distributing seditious pa-
pers or writings, or by engaging in any illegal associations
or conspiracies, endeavour to disturb the public peace, or
excite disaffection to the lawful government of this country.

SECONDLY, That we will do all in our power to aid
and assist the Civil Magistrate in maintaining the general
tranquillity, in suppressing all riots and disturbances that may
arise within this , and in bringing the au-
thors and promoters thereof to condign punishment.

THIRDLY, That we will, by the distribution of consti-
tutional writings, and by every other effort of calm reason-
ing, endeavour to undeceive and inform such persons as
may have been misled by the delusive and inflammatory sug-
gestions of evil-designing men; who seek to excite a gene-
ral spirit of restlessness and discontent, in order to subvert
that rational system of liberty and order which alike consults
the real happiness of all classes of Englishmen.

And

And we do invite all friends to peace and tranquillity, residing in this to join with us in the above declaration and resolutions, by signing their names thereto.

Such are the principles on which are formed the Associations protested against by the Friends of the Liberty of the Press.—Principles as legal and constitutional in themselves, as their object is important and as the assertion of them at this time has been seasonable and useful. One thing only remains—to pursue with vigour and vigilance what has been begun with such unanimity and success. The moment of danger is not over. Let not the season of watchfulness expire: The foes to order and good government, though checked, are not subdued.—As long as Anarchy shall reign in a neighbouring country, the project of introducing it into this will not be abandoned. The friends of the Constitution have stood forth manfully and successfully at a critical juncture. They have one duty more—to keep awake on their Posts.

SCOTLAND.

SPEECH DELIVERED FROM THE CHAIR OF
THE COURT OF SESSION, BY THE LORD
PRESIDENT, IN THE NAME OF THE COURT,
TO THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES,
AND COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF EDIN-
BURGH.

MY LORD PROVOST,

THE whole Court will join with me in opinion, that your Lordship and the other Gentlemen of the Magistracy and Council are entitled to the thanks and approbation of your Fellow Citizens, for the activity and zeal which have marked your public conduct, at a time when, from various causes, it is well known that a more than ordinary exertion was required.

It was with equal surprize and concern that this Court learned, as well by the public voice of the Country, as by
His

HIS MAJESTY'S Proclamation and the proceedings in Parliament, that a spirit of sedition had arisen in different parts of the Kingdom—that alarms had been excited, that designing or deluded men were busy in their endeavours to poison the minds of the People, to mislead them by fallhoods, and to sow the seeds of Anarchy, Mischief, and Disorder.

To us, the Judges of one of the Supreme Courts, whose official situation had intimately connected us with the Law and Constitution of our Country in Church and State, long ago established, and gradually (as we thought) improved, it could not fail to be unwelcome news, when we were told that the British Constitution was all wrong; that it either rested upon unsound principles, or had fallen into decay; that the Legislature itself was corrupt, Civil Liberty extinct, and the people groaning under oppression. Happy it was that such daring assertions admitted of an easy detection.

Let any man who is not blinded by prejudice, look around him, and say, what marks or symptoms he can find here, of an oppressed and a ruined People. Wherein does the misery consist? Is it in the extended commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the Country—or in the costly and substantial edifices which are every day arising in the Towns—or in the additional numbers and increased wages and pay of artificers, workmen, and labourers of all kinds, produced by the flourishing state of the Country, beyond all example in former times? Have we not complete proof that the industrious are happy; that Britain has attained to a high degree of prosperity; and, in a word, that the cry of grievance, however applicable to the old state of France, and still more to the present, has no foundation here, but in gross deception?

Let me ask any candid man, what indication he observes of want of Liberty in any part of Great Britain? It was long ago pronounced from the highest Tribunals both of England and Scotland, as a legal truth, "That the air of Britain was too pure for any person who was not free, to breathe in." Thus, the moment any subject of another Country sets foot on British ground, his condition becomes altered; he is taken under the protection of the Laws of Britain, and is a free man, whatever his former state may have been. Neither have we different Laws, for the high and the low—the rich and the poor. The Laws of Britain are the same to all; and the rights of all men are by them equally secured.

We

We have no occasion to plant the Tree of Liberty in this Country; for, here it already grows and flourishes; and I trust in God that no storm will ever shake it:

“ *Ipse hæret scopulis, et quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.*”

I need not observe, that what is meant by Liberty, is not the power of doing wrong: but Civil Liberty, restrained by Law, for the mutual benefit of all who enter into a formed society of any kind, which is the sense that even the most sanguine Republican must necessarily affix to it, as, without such controuling power, the bonds of Society could not for a moment subsist, nor would life itself be secure.

The principles of the British Constitution is Liberty and Property; and a learned author, Dr. FRANKLIN, who surely was not unacquainted with the nature of a Free Government, lays it down in one of his books, “that Liberty and Property form the basis of abundance.” But these terms are now changed upon us, and, in place of them, Liberty and Equality are sounded in our ears—a phrase of dark and mysterious meaning, well fitted to convey into ignorant minds those indistinct and inexplicable dreams of Equal Power, Equal Condition, and Equal Property, which, were it possible to realize them, would go at once to the annihilation, not only of all industry and all safety, but even of Society and a savage state.

Those who associate in meetings to devise impracticable or unnecessary plans of reformation, sometimes from good design, and oftener from bad, affect to disclaim the pernicious tenets which have been imported to us from another Country. They tell us they have no view to disturb the peace of Society, or to encourage licentiousness. Many of them, it is believed, speak sincerely when they use this language; but perhaps they are not aware, that their actions have precisely that effect, whatever their intentions may be; for they have brought men together for the purpose of instilling prejudice into their minds, and making them believe that they feel grievances which do not exist. The consequence of this is obvious. They have not duly considered how dangerous it is to tamper with the minds and passions of uninformed men; and how impossible it is to say to a Mob, “thus far shall you go, and no farther.”

As to the proposition of those who have had the hardi-
ness to preach force to the People, the example of France
might

might have taught them, that were any such attempt to be made, they themselves would probably be the first victims. He must be ignorant indeed who does not know that a Government founded upon the principle of force, is tyranny, whether the power be lodged in one individual, or in a few, or in many. What is there in the present state of this Country, civil or ecclesiastical, that requires the interference of the People in any unusual manner? Is it not false, that they are overburdened with taxes? Those who pay the taxes are able to bear them.—Debts ought surely to be discharged, and Government must be maintained. A breach of public faith and credit would be attended with the instant ruin of many thousands of innocent families both at home and abroad, besides being most disgraceful in itself. But all this is a burden upon the wealth, the property, and the luxury of the Country! Is it not obvious that the wages, the rate of labour, and the prices of work, by which the lower orders of the community are subsisted, do at this moment, and always must, bear a proportion to the riches of either country, and to the general means of living?

We are told that abuses have crept in. Where is the evidence of it? But granting the fact to be so, what is the use of a legislature but to pass new laws when they are needed, and to redress wrongs when the common law and former statute laws have not provided an adequate remedy? No human institution ever was complete or perfect at the first moment, and no one who knows any thing of the history of this country, can be ignorant that its Constitution, instead of falling into a state of gradual decay, has been much amended by a variety of excellent Laws, passed at different times, all tending to the same point, that of meliorating the condition of the People. Let me instance a few of those which relate to Scotland; for we have no occasion to go from home. Was it force or tumult that procured our Act of Grace, and other remedies in the case of *Civil Debt*, by which more ample provision is made for Personal Liberty in this part of the Kingdom than exists even in England? to say nothing of our Act 1701, which, in criminal matters, has been considered as the *Habeas Corpus* of Scotland.

Was it by any such means, that in the reign of Queen Anne, our national form of worship was established upon a firm basis on the one hand, and toleration on the other?

Were not the personal services of vassals abolished in the Reign of George I.? Wardholdings and heritable jurisdictions

tions in that of George II. ? It may be said, that these last were the fruit of two Rebellions. True ; but the Rebellions had far other objects in view than obtaining any favourable change in the condition of the People. After they were quashed, it was seen that the power of Aristocracy in Scotland had been too great, and this evil was effectually cured by the Laws last mentioned.

In the present Reign, neither force nor fear occasioned the restitution of forfeited families, the emancipation of colliers and salters, the exclusion of Revenue-officers in matters of Election, the Police Board laid aside, and the many encouragements given to Arts, Navigation, Commerce, and Manufactures, by which this Country has become great and flourishing.

Were it necessary to go farther back, we should find, even in less enlightened times, many important Laws passed for securing the subjects; both in property and person; Judges named for life, and made independent; leases of land real, and the interest of tenants secured; public registers introduced; schools and colleges endowed, by which learning was diffused, and liberality of sentiment promoted, which, joined to the duties of Religion, form the true sources of genuine Liberty and rational Government.

These and many other wholesome Laws, were the spontaneous effect of free and deliberate discussion in Parliament; and it is not unlikely that other improvements may still be made in the same manner. But meetings of the people called to overawe the Legislature, and headed by men who, supposing their intentions to be good, cannot have the necessary evidence before them, must always tend to obstruct and defeat, never to forward, any wise measure. These men ought to be taught, that their meetings are directly in the face of Law, as well as good Government; and if it be true, that, like Catiline's Conspirators, some of them have bound themselves by solemn oaths, the shocking impropriety of this must fill the mind of every sober and thinking man with indignation.

As to the Liberty of the Press, it must be consistent with the recollection of all of us; how much this has, of late years, overleapt its ancient boundaries; and surely those who have been so audacious in their attacks against all Order—all Law—all Government—every thing decent, peaceable, and becoming—and have not even spared religion itself, must acknowledge, that hitherto the liberty of speaking and writing, even to excess, has received little checks from Courts of Law.

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I have only to add; upon the subject of Elections (another ample topic of popular discourse), that if the rights of voting in Counties are to be altered or explained, and the ancient Constitution of our Boroughs to undergo what is called a *Reform*, and if the present time be proper for such disquisitions, this Court will earnestly pray that the following important objects may be kept in view: 1st, That the fundamental principles of Common Law, and permanent justice between man and man, may be as little exchanged as possible for the untried theories of political expediency: 2d, That the multiplication of law-suits may be avoided, or at least that some other Court than this may be found for the decision of them: And, 3d, That the morals of the lower classes of men in the Country may be kept as free from the hazard of corruption as circumstances will admit.

Let us, my Lord, be thankful for the blessings we enjoy. Let us be careful not rashly to shake the ancient fabric of our Constitution; for it may be very difficult to rear a better one. Let us examine well every speculative plan of *Reform*, a word which has of late been much abused; and let us remember, that we owe it to the memory of our forefathers, some of whom bled in the cause of Liberty—and to the regard which every man ought to have for his character, the welfare of his family, and the good of his Country, to hand down, whole and entire, to our posterity, those invaluable Rights, which we possess, and which they ought to inherit, as the natural result of a free and happy Constitution.

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CONTAINING

The fatal Effects of Republican Principles, exemplified in the History of England from the Death of Charles I. to the Restoration of Charles II.

LONDON:

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PRICE, ONE PENNY.

THE FATAL EFFECTS OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES,
EXEMPLIFIED IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. TO THE
RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

THE Presbyterians and pretended Patriots, who had been the great promoters of the measures pursued against Charles I. and had reduced that unhappy monarch to the mercy of the parliament, were unwilling to carry their enmity further; but the scene of confusion, which they had opened, could not be closed at their pleasure. The Republicans and Sectaries aimed at something more. Through their means the Presbyterians and patriots were violently excluded by a military force from entering the House of Commons. In consequence of this, a vote was carried against the King, then a prisoner, which led, soon after, to his execution. The Parliament (ridiculously called the Rump Parliament) after his death, took the Government into their own hands, and carried it on, in the form of a republic. This form did not last long; the intrigues of Cromwel, and the disposition of the nation towards a monarchical government, concurred in favouring the ambition of that singular man; and

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he soon assumed the supreme authority, under the title of Protector. When he died, the authority devolved to his son; but he had little talent or inclination for such a station; and it soon passed again into the hands of the Republicans. However, these fluctuations in the sovereign power wore out the patience of the people; they saw there was no hope of quiet till the ancient constitution was restored; and in a very short time the nation, with one voice, recalled the son of their murdered sovereign, and restored him to the throne of his ancestors.

The progress of these events affords an admirable lesson to the present generation. It will shew that the notions of reform and revolutions now current, are not wholly new; that they have been tried in this kingdom already; that they produced infinite mischief in the experiment; and that they ended, in the return of the nation to the old approved constitution of the country, in which alone, it could find a resting place, after the horrors of insurrections, conspiracies, and rebellion. For this purpose I shall select some passages from that discerning historian and philosopher, Mr. Hume; and I shall begin with the appointment of Oliver Cromwel to the lieutenancy of Ireland, in March, 1649.

The new Lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Thó' men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the highest discontent every where appeared. The English, long accustomed to a mild government, and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they generally regarded with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and to degrade as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of Monarchy could be published in the city. An engagement being framed to support the Commonwealth without King or House of Peers, the army were with some difficulty brought to subscribe it; but though it was imposed upon the rest of the nation under severe penalties, no less than the putting all refusers out of the protection of law; such obstinate reluctance was observed in the people, that even the imperious parliament were obliged to desist from it. The spirit of fanaticism, by which that assembly had at first been strongly supported, was now turned, in a great measure against them. The pulpits being chiefly filled with presbyterians,

byterians, or disguised royalists, and having been long the scene of news and politics, could by no penalties be restrained from declarations unfavourable to the established government. Numberless were the extravagances which broke out among the people. Everard, a disbanded soldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among christians, led out his followers to take possession of the land; and being carried before the general, he refused to salute him; because he was but his fellow creature. What seemed more dangerous; the army itself was infected with the like humours. Though the levellers had for some time been oppressed by the audacious spirit of Cromwel, they still continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be consulted, as before, in the administration of the commonwealth. They now practised against their officers the same lesson, which they had been taught against the parliament. They framed a remonstrance, and sent five agitators to present it to the general and council of war: These were cashiered with ignominy by sentence of a court martial. One Lockier, having carried his sedition farther, was sentenced to death; but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thousand of his companions shewed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thousand assembled at Burford under the command of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell upon them while unprepared for defence, and seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken prisoners: Some of them capitally punished: The rest pardoned: And this tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

Petitions framed in the same spirit of opposition were presented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious pamphlets, had formerly been treated with such severity by the Star Chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the Commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the parliament were harrassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the na-

tion, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was esteemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

The parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, tho' they had never appeared in any overt-act against the state. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour the subverting their authority or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason. The power of imprisonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the King, it was now found requisite to restore to the council of state; and all the jails of England were filled with men whom the jealousies and fears of the ruling party had represented as dangerous. The taxes continued by the new government, and which, being unusual, were esteemed heavy, increased the general ill will under which it laboured. Besides the customs and excise, ninety thousand pounds a month were levied on land for the subsistence of the army. The sequestrations and compositions of the royalists, the sale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, tho' they yielded immense sums, were not sufficient to supply the vast expences, and, as was suspected, the great depredations, of the parliament and of their creatures.

In April, 1653, Cromwel encouraged the army in their opposition to the parliament, and a council of officers voted a remonstrance, in which they require the parliament to dissolve themselves; but Cromwel and the army not liking delay, proceeded to do this themselves; which is thus related by Mr. Hume.

The parliament took this remonstrance in very ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition, the breach became still wider between the army and the Commonwealth. Cromwel finding matters right for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council, that the General sought only to pave the

the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, Major Streater, briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly : for if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late ; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, Colonel Ingoldsby informs Cromwel, that the parliament were sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections ; and were at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately hastens to the house, and carries a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed the Lord not to impose upon him : But there was a necessity in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. He beckoned Harrison, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe for a dissolution. " Sir," said Harrison, " the work is very great and dangerous : I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it." You say well," replied the General ; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, " This is the time : I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, " For shame," said he to the parliament, " get you gone : Give place to honest men ; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament : I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you : He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this procedure, he cried with a loud voice, " O ! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane ! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, " Thou art a whore master," said he. To another, " Thou art an adulterer. To a third, Thou art a drunkard and a glutton : " And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. " What shall we do to this bauble ? Here take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the house, " that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which so well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people than was its final dissolution. All parties now reaped successively the dismal pleasure of seeing the injuries, which they had suffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the same arts which had been practised against them. The King had stretched his prerogative beyond its just bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited by cant and hypocrisy, the populace first to tumults, then to war, against the King, the peers, and all the royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independants, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independants, amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as antient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

Thus the Republicans, who had violently driven away the Presbyterians, were themselves as violently dispossessed by their own army. After the parliament was dissolved, the sovereign power fell into the hands of Cromwel. But he was obliged to comply with the ruling inclination for republicanism; and to satisfy the nation, he set up a parliament of his own, consisting of his own creatures, who he intended, should bear the semblance of an independent legislature, while they were governed wholly by him. This curious passage is thus related by Mr. Hume.

The deists were perfectly hated by Cromwel, because he had no hold of enthusiasm, by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with great rigor and disdain, and usually denominated them the heathens. As the millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their size of understanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years, it had been so usual a topic of conversation

tation to discourse of parliaments, and councils, and senates, and the soldiers themselves had been so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that Cromwel thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He supposed, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to a hundred and twenty-eight persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these persons the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office.

There were great numbers at that time, always disposed to adhere to the power which was uppermost, and to support the established government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be esteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed an hypocritical phrase for expressing so prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was so kind as to bestow on these men, now assembled together, the supreme authority, they must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaisance towards it. They immediately voted themselves a parliament; and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it.

In this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greatest part were low mechanics; fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independants; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with seeking God by prayer: This office was performed by eight or ten gifted men of the assembly; and with so much success, that according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devout exercises, enjoyed so much of the holy spirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated, when they considered the high dignity, to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day, when Christ should be so owned. They thought it, therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which it was expected the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being consecrated by their

own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the ecclesiastics, who claim a peculiar sanctity, derived merely from their office and priestly character. This parliament took into consideration the abolition of the clerical function, as favouring of popery; and the taking away of tythes, which they called a reliet of Judaism. Learning also and the universities were deemed heathenish and unnecessary: The common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and of Norman slavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some steps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery, the highest court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Mosaic law was intended to be established as the sole system of English jurisprudence.

Of all the extraordinary schemes, adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London: His name *Praise God Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the denomination of Barebone's parliament*.

* It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish; into others more sanctified and godly; Even the New Testament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in such regard as those which were borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to be enclosed in the county of Sussex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Northam,
Redeemed, Compton of Battle,
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield,
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare,
God Reward, Smart of Eivehurst.
Standfast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.

Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley,
Hope for, Bending of the same.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the same.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," says Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster-master has no other list, than the first chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praise-god Barebone had for name. If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone. But the people tired of this long name, retained only the last word, and gave him commonly the appellation of Damn'd Barebone.

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This miserable expedient of a parliament satisfying Cromwel, as little as it did the nation; and being convinced that the prejudice of the English people was in favour of monarchy, he resolved to gratify them as well as he could consistently with his own views, and he accordingly procured himself to be made Protector, in December, 1653, which transition is thus related by Mr. Hume.

Cromwel began to be athamed of his legislature. If he ever had any other design in summoning so preposterous an assembly beyond amusing the populace and the army, he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had so far succeeded as to make them desire any other government, which might secure their professions, now brought in danger by these desperate fanatics. Cromwel himself was dissatisfied, that the parliament, though they had received all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord, and to insist already on their divine commission. He had been careful to summon in his writs several persons entirely devoted to him. By concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouse, their speaker; and by a formal deed or assignment, resigned back into his hands that supreme authority, which they had so lately received from him. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they.. Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "For to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years."

The military being now, in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy; For he seems not to have had any deliberate plan in all these alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obsequiousness to him, indulged an unbounded ambition, proposed in a council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called the instrument of government, containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general,

neral, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared protector ; and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

So little were these men endowed with the spirit of legislation, that they confessed or rather boasted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this instrument, by which the whole government of the three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjusted for all succeeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them ; when it is considered how crude and undigested a system of civil polity they endeavoured to establish. The chief articles of the instrument are these : A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour ; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth : In his name was all justice to be administered ; from him were all magistracy and honours derived ; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treason ; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, rested in him ; but in these particulars he was to act entirely by the advice and with the consent of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they had passed, were to be presented to the protector for his consent ; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of the parliament. A standing army for Britain and Ireland was established, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse ; and funds were assigned for their support. These were not to be diminished without consent of the protector ; and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both the benches, must be chosen with the approbation of parliament ; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life ; and on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. This was the instrument

instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and solemnly sworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of state, named by the instrument, were fifteen ; men entirely devoted to the protector, and by reason of the opposition among themselves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine against him.

Cromwel said, that he accepted the dignity of protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a constable, and preserve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that pass, by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority and even arbitrary power of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The independants were too small a party ever to establish a popular government, or entrust the nation, where they had so little interest, with the free choice of its representatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecution ; incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects, which prevailed among the people. The royalists were so much enraged by the injuries, which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, who, they knew, were enabled, merely by the execution of the ancient laws, to take severe vengeance upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alledged, might be allowed, in every view, a reasonable excuse for his conduct.

During the variety of ridiculous and distracted scenes, which the civil government presented in England, the military force was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity ; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations.

Cromwel died in 1658. The feeble and short government of his son, gave encouragement, and an ascendancy to cabals of various sorts, among partisans in politics, and sectaries in religion. Those who were nearest to the scene of action, took advantage of this crisis to revive their favourite republic ; but this miserable attempt had so often failed, that it could not support itself between the contempt and violence to which it was exposed. The rump parliament was indeed restored, but in a few months was again expelled by an armed force, in October, 1659. Every thing now was at the mercy of the army. Fortunately for the nation, a very considerable part of the army was under the command of a man, who was disposed towards monarchy. General Monk availed himself

of his situation: he over-awed the male-contents who were in the army; and, under his protection a new parliament was summoned, in which it was trusted the real sense of the nation might be expressed. Mr. Hume thus goes on.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the King's party. This was one of those popular torrents, where the most indifferent, or even the most averse, are transported with the general passion, and zealously adopt the sentiments of the society, to which they belong. The enthusiasts themselves seemed to be disarmed of their fury; and between despair and astonishment gave way to those measures which, they found it would be impossible for them, by their utmost efforts to withstand. The presbyterians, the royalists, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the King's restoration. The kingdom was almost entirely in the hands of the former party: and some zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of those conditions, which had been required of the late King in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion seemed to condemn all those rigorous and jealous capitulations with their sovereign. Harassed with convulsions and disorders, men ardently longed for repose, and were terrified with the mention of negotiations or delay, which might afford opportunity to the seditious army still to breed new confusion. The passion too for liberty, having been carried to such violent extremes, and having produced such bloody commotions, began by a natural movement to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public were less zealous in a cause, which was become odious, on account of the calamities which had so long attended it. After the concessions made by the late King, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured; and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had been framed during the greatest ardour of the contest, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all the General was averse to the mention of conditions; and resolved, that the crown, which he intended to restore, should be conferred on the King entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther scruple, therefore, or jealousy, the people gave their voice in elections for such as they knew to entertain sentiments favourable to monarchy; and all paid court to a party, which, they foresaw, was soon to govern the nation. Though the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late King; very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance. The leaders of the presbyterians, the Earl
of

of Manchester, Lord Fairfax, Lord Roberts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Annetley, Lewis, were determined to atone for past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal interests; and from former merits, successes, and sufferings, they had acquired with their party the highest credit and authority.

Thus ended the story of revolutions and republics in the last century. The moral of this is the best monitor a Briton can listen to. The pen of history, the memorials of our ancestors afford us lessons of experience which may make us wise; and those who read them, will be better enabled to see through the designs of artful men, however they may be veiled with the false pretences of liberty, philosophy, and universal peace.

The scenes of corruption and iniquity that were practised during this period of revolutions, are pictured in a very lively manner in *Walker's History of Independency*; a work that was published in parts, at several different times, while those transactions were really passing, and which ought to be read by every one who would be rightly informed of the dangers to be apprehended from republicanism, and any changes in the legal government of this country.

It appears from this writer, that the parliament felt a private interest in destroying the king, and persecuting his followers as delinquents, because they thereby kept in their own hands all the lucrative offices that existed under the old government, with many more they had created; and because they divided amongst them the estates of the peers and great landholders, as well as those of the bishops and other churchmen. The nation at large derived no benefit from the change; they only saw great offices and great property transferred from men of worth and character to men without either; from the right owners to public plunderers. In the mean time, the people paid the same taxes, and others, of a new sort, more heavy than ever were known in this country. The *excise* was first introduced by these friends to liberty, and was levied on bread and flesh meat, as well as beer and other liquors. So much were the taxes of the kingdom increased, that from being at the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640 only 900,000*l.* they became in Cromwel's time Two Millions. So mistaken are those who suppose that a republic is cheaper than a monarchy! The republicans indeed took a ready way, at once, to make their government much more expensive than it had ever before been under any king; for they allowed themselves 4*l.* a week each, which for 516 members made 1,100,000*l.* per annum.

In Walker's History there is a curious list of the members, with the offices, and large bribes that had been bestowed upon them. It would be too long to insert this at length. But I will venture to give a few extracts as specimens :—

“ Thomas Scot, a brewer's clerk formerly, hath the Archbishop's House at Lambeth.

“ Edward Harvy, late a poor silkman, now colonel, and hath got the Bishop of London's House, and Manor of Fulham.

“ John Moore, colonel of the guards, and for some time had the benefit of passes out of London.

“ Oliver Cromwel, Lieutenant General, hath 2,500l. per annum given him out of the Marquis of Worcester's estate, for which 4000l. per annum is let out at the rate of 2,500l.

“ Sir William Brereton, Colonel General for the Cheshire Forces, has Cashiobery, and other lands of the Lord Capel, worth 2000l. per annum, and the Archbishop's House and Lands at Croydon, where he has turned the chapel into a kitchen—a *goodly reformation*.

“ Benjamin Valentine had given him 5000l.

“ Francis Rous, Provost of Eton, in Dr. Steward's place, worth 600l. per annum, and has got a College Lease worth 600l. per annum.”

These are some of the instances of pillage and peculation. This writer makes the following general reflexion, which is applied to the time, just preceding the King's death.

It is thought this faction, their under-agents and factors, have cost this Common-wealth above 20 millions never laid forth in any publick service: nay, the treasurers and publicans of this faction have clipped and washed most of the money that comes into their fingers before they pay it forth, knowing that any money, that comes out of their fingers will be accepted: two goldsmiths are thought to be dealers this way, yet they lay the blame on the Scottish army, as the cuckow lays her brood in other nests.

Having thus impeded their wings for flight, they have provided themselves of places of retreat in case they cannot make good their standing in England; Ireland is kept unprovided for, that they may find room in it when necessity drives them thither. If their hopes fail in Ireland, they have New-England, Bermudas, Barbadas, the Carybi Isles, the Isle of Providence, Eleutheria, Lygonia, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the spoils of England in: nay, they usually send chests and

and vessels with money, plate, and goods beyond sea, with passes from the two speakers, to let them pass without searching: the navy is in their power to accommodate their flight, and by their instruments called spirits, they have taken up many children and sent them before to be slaves and drudges to the godly in their schismatical plantations as the Turk takes up tribute-children from the christians to furnish his nursery of janisaries; and so they have their agents that buy up all the gold they can get; Cromwel not long since, offered 110,000*l.* in silver, for 100,000*l.* in gold; besides, he is well furnished with the King's jewels taken in his cabinet at Nazeby; many of them known jewels, as the Harry, and the Elizabeth.

After giving a list of the members, with the places they held, and the bribes they had had, he concludes in this way—

By the ordinance for sequestering delinquents [1 April 1643.] it was declared, that their estates should go for maintenance of the publick affairs, and several ordinances designed bishop's lands for pay of 200,000*l.* publick debt: yet by this, and the following list, * thou shalt see how both delinquents estates and bishop's lands, are by members of parliament shared amongst themselves, whilst the 200,000*l.* is unpaid, the publick affairs supported by unsupportable taxes, and that Dutch devil *excise*, that insensibly devours the poor, and will impoverish the rich.

These are they that with Hananiah, break the wooden yoke from our necks, (28 Jeremiah) and put on one of iron; free us from a little ship-money paid thrice in an age, and impose as much at once for a monthly tax; quit us of the monopolies of tobacco, and set up excise on bread and beer. The first easeth the wanton rich man, and the latter grindeth the needy and poor. Yet these are thy gods, O London! these are the idol calves the people have set up and do worship: these be the Molec to whom ye sacrifice sons and servants by troops, regiments, and armies, to maintain their sovereignty, rebellion, and profit.

And that these and other their actions may never be questioned, they, his Majesty's loyal and obedient subjects, will always imprison their King, continue their army, perpetuate their parliament, and intail their memberships (as the priesthood on Levi) upon confiding families, to furnish them with votes. And that our ecclesiasticks may comply with our temporal governors, the house abolish (as superstitious because legal) the

* He had given one list, and he adds another.

Convocation of learned divines, (regularly summoned by the King's writ, and duly elected by the clergy) and the House of Commons nominates an assembly of gifted divines (indeed wicked Simons) that slander the godly Onias, (2 Mac. 4.) to oust him of his priest's place; so that at this day there is not one assembly-man but is illegally thrust into another's benefice, a catalogue of whose names and preferments expect shortly, and with them a view of the militia and common council-men of London, observing what places, offices and salaries they have from the Houses of Parliament, and then thou wilt know the reasons of their votes and actions in the city.*

You see in part what the grandees have done for *themselves*. Consider after eight years sitting, what they have done for the *people*: when amongst all their propositions to the King for peace, hardly any one respects the good of the people, but their own grandeur and profit. They demand a militia to keep up this army upon us, which is not the King's to give. No King of England ever governed by a standing army. They demand likewise power to raise what forces for land and sea, consisting of what persons, they please to press; and to raise what money to maintain them, out of all mens' estates, to be laid on at their discretion, and as partially as they please, so that they may favour one faction, and oppress the other at pleasure; for, so much the act for the militia, as it is penned, imports: and this is more than his Majesty hath power to grant. The late militia of trained bands, and the posse comitatus under sheriffs (being the only legal militia of England) will not serve their turns. It hath always been the policy of England to trust the militia and sword in one hand (viz. the King's) and the purse that should pay them in another (viz. the Parliament's) whereby one power might bound and limit the other. For to put the sword and the purse into one hand, is to make that hand absolute master of our persons and estates, and so reduce us to absolute slavery under the arbitrary power of one man, without appeal or redress. Awake and look about you good people.

Such was the corruption of a government, which resided in a public assembly, and such would be a Republican government, in the present days, if substituted instead of the Monarchy. It is so, and ten times worse in France, at this moment. These things are known to the Republicans in this country, and they know for what they are struggling.

* This catalogue is really given by the author, and is very curious.

PUBLICATIONS

Printed by Order of

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER VI.

CONTAINING

*Reasons for Contentment.—Lord Loughborough's Speech on the
Alien Bill.*

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Temple-bar,
Strand; where the Bookfellers in Town and Country may
be served with any Quantity.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

*Reasons for Contentment; addressed to the labouring Part of the
British Public. By William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of
Carlisle.*

HUMAN life has been said to resemble the situation of
spectators in a theatre, where, whilst each person is
engaged by the scene which passes before him, no one thinks
about the place in which he is seated. It is only when the
business is interrupted, or when the spectator's attention to it
grows idle and remiss, that he begins to consider at all, who
is before him, or who is behind him, whether others are bet-
ter accommodated than himself, or whether many be not
much worse. It is thus with the various ranks and stations of
society. So long as a man is intent upon the duties and con-
cerns of his own condition, he never thinks of comparing it
with any other; he is never troubled with reflections upon the
different classes and orders of mankind, the advantages or dis-
advantages of each, the necessity or non-necessity of civil dis-
tinctions,

functions, much less does he feel within himself a disposition to covet or envy any of them. He is too much taken up with the occupations of his calling, its pursuits, cares, and business, to bestow unprofitable meditations upon the circumstances in which he sees others placed. And by this means a man of a sound and active mind, has, in his very constitution, a remedy against the disturbance of envy and discontent. These passions gain no admittance into his breast, because there is no leisure there or vacancy for the trains of thought which generate them. He enjoys therefore ease in this respect, and ease resulting from the best cause, the power of keeping his imagination at home; of confining it to what belongs to himself, instead of sending it forth to wander amongst speculations which have neither limits nor use, amidst views of unattainable grandeur, fancied happiness, of extolled, because unexperienced, privileges and delights.

The wisest advice that can be given is, never to allow our attention to dwell upon comparisons between our own condition and that of others, but to keep it fixed upon the duties and concerns of the condition itself. But since everyman has not this power; since the minds of some men will be busy in contemplating the advantages which they see others possess, and since persons in laborious stations of life are wont to view the higher ranks of society with sentiments which not only tend to make themselves unhappy, but which are very different from the truth, it may be an useful office to point out to them some of these considerations, which, if they *will* turn their thoughts to the subject, they should endeavour to take fairly into the account.

And first, we are most of us apt to murmur, when we see exorbitant fortunes placed in the hands of single persons; larger, we are sure, than they can want, or, as we think, than they can use.—This is so common a reflection that I will not say it is not natural.—But whenever the complaint comes into our minds, we ought to recollect, that the thing happens in consequence of those very rules and laws which secure to ourselves our property, be it ever so small. The laws which accidentally cast enormous estates into one great man's possession, are after all, the self same laws which protect and guard the poor man. Fixed rules of property are established, for one as well as another, without knowing, before hand, whom they may affect. If these rules sometimes throw an excessive or disproportionate share to one man's lot, who can help it? It is much better that it should be so, than that the rules themselves should be broken up: and you can only have

have one side of the alternative or the other. To abolish riches would not be to abolish poverty: but, on the contrary, to leave it without protection or resource. It is not for the poor man to repine at the effects of laws and rules by which he himself is benefited every hour of his existence; which secure to him his earnings, his habitation, his bread, his life; without which he, no more than the rich man, could either eat his meal in quietness, or go to bed in safety. Of the two, it is rather more the concern of the poor to stand up for the laws than the rich; for it is the law which defends the weak against the strong, the humble against the powerful, the little against the great; and weak and strong, humble and powerful, little and great there would be, even were there no laws whatever. Beside; what after all is the mischief? The owner of a great estate does not eat or drink more than the owner of a small one. His fields do not produce worse crops, nor does the produce maintain fewer mouths. If estates were more equally divided, would greater numbers be fed, or clothed, or employed? Either therefore large fortunes are not a public evil, or, if they be in any degree an evil, it is to be borne with for the sake of those fixed and general rules concerning property, in the preservation and steadiness of which all are interested.

Fortunes however of any kind, from the nature of the thing, can only fall to the lot of a few. I say, "from the nature of the thing." The very utmost that can be done by laws and government, is to enable every man, who hath health, to procure a healthy subsistence for himself and a family. Where this is the case, things are at their perfection. They have reached their limit. Were the princes and nobility, the legislators and counsellors of the land, all of them, the best and wisest men that ever lived, their united virtue and wisdom could do no more than this. They, if any such there be, who would teach you to expect more, give you no instance where more has ever been attained.

But Providence, which foresaw, which appointed indeed, the necessity to which human affairs are subjected, and against which it were impious to complain, hath contrived that, whilst fortunes are only for a few, the rest of mankind may be happy without them. And this leads us to consider the comparative advantages and comforts which belong to the condition of those who subsist, as the great mass of every people do and must subsist, by personal labour, and the solid reasons they have for contentment in their stations. I do not now use the terms poor and rich, because that man is to be ac-

counted poor, of whatever rank he be, and suffers the pains of poverty, whose expences exceed his resources; and no man is, properly speaking, poor but he. But I at present consider the advantages of those laborious conditions of life, which compose the great portion of every human community.

And, first, it is an inestimable blessing of such situations, that they supply a constant train of employment both to body and mind. A husbandman, or a manufacturer, or a tradesman, never goes to bed at night without having his business to rise up to in the morning. He would understand the value of this advantage, did he know that the want of it composes one of the greatest plagues of the human soul; a plague by which the rich, especially those who inherit riches, are exceedingly oppressed. Indeed it is to get rid of it, that is to say, it is to have something to do, that they are driven upon those strange and unaccountable ways of passing their time, in which we sometimes see them, to our surprise, engaged.

A poor man's condition supplies him with that, which no man can do without, and which a rich man, with all his opportunities and all his contrivance, can hardly supply himself, regular engagement, business to look forward to, something to be done for every day, some employment preparing for every morning. A few of better judgment can seek out for themselves constant and useful occupation. There is not one of you takes the pains in his calling, which some of the most independent men in the nation have taken, and are taking, to promote what they deem to be a point of great concern to the interests of humanity, by which neither they nor theirs can ever gain a shilling, and which, should they succeed, those who are to be benefited by their service, will never know nor thank them for it. I only mention this to show, in conjunction with what has been observed above, that of those who are at liberty to act as they please, the wise prove, and the foolish confess, by their conduct, that a life of employment is the only life worth leading; and that the chief difference between their manner of passing their time and yours, is, that they can chuse the objects of their activity, which you cannot. This privilege may be an advantage to some, but for nine out of ten it is fortunate, that occupation is provided to their hands, that they have it not to seek, that it is imposed upon them by their necessities and occasions; for the consequence of liberty in this respect would be, that, lost in the perplexity of choosing, they would sink into irrecoverable indolence, inaction, and unconcern; into that vacancy and tiresomeness
of

of time and thought which are inseparable from such a situation. A man's thoughts must be going. Whilst he is awake, the working of his mind is as constant as the beating of his pulse. He can no more stop the one than the other. Hence if our thoughts have nothing to act upon, they act upon ourselves. They acquire a corrosive quality. They become in the last degree irksome and tormenting. Wherefore that sort of equable engagement, which takes up the thoughts sufficiently, yet so as to leave them capable of turning to any thing more important, as occasions offer or require, is a most invaluable blessing. And if the industrious be not sensible of the blessing, it is for no other reason than because they have never experienced, or rather suffered, the want of it.

Again ; some of the necessities which poverty (if the condition of the labouring part of mankind must be so called) imposes, are not hardships but pleasures. Frugality itself is a pleasure. It is an exercise of attention and contrivance, which, whenever it is successful, produces satisfaction. The very care and forecast that are necessary to keep expences and earnings upon a level form, when not embarrassed by too great difficulties, is an agreeable engagement of the thoughts. This is lost amidst abundance. There is no pleasure in taking out of a large unmeasured fund. They who do that, and only that, are the mere conveyors of money from one hand to another.

A yet more serious advantage which persons in inferior stations possess, is the ease with which they provide for their children. All the provision which a poor man's child requires is contained in two words, " industry and innocence." With these qualities, though without a shilling to set him forwards, he goes into the world prepared to become a useful, virtuous, and happy man. Nor will he fail to meet with a maintenance adequate to the habits with which he has been brought up, and to the expectations which he has formed ; a degree of success sufficient for a person of any condition whatever. These qualities of industry and innocence, which, I repeat again, are all that are absolutely necessary, every parent can give to his children without expence, because he can give them by his own authority and example ; and they are to be communicated, I believe, and preserved in no other way. I call this a serious advantage of humble stations, because in what we reckon superior ranks of life, there is a real difficulty in placing children in situations, which may in any degree support them in the class and in the habits in which they have been brought up with their parents : from which great, and

oftentimes distressing perplexity, the poor are free. With health of body, innocency of mind, and habits of industry, a poor man's child has nothing to be afraid of; nor his father or his mother any thing to be afraid of for him.

The labour of the world is carried on by *service*, that is, by one man working under another man's direction. I take it for granted, that this is the best way of conducting business, because all nations and ages have adopted it. Consequently service is the relation which, of all others, affects the greatest number of individuals, and in the most sensible manner. In whatever country therefore this relation is well and equitably regulated, in that country the poor will be happy. Now how is the matter managed with us? Except apprenticeships, the necessity of which, every one, at least every father and mother, will acknowledge, as the best, if not the only practicable way of gaining instruction and skill, and which have their foundation in *nature*, because they have their foundation in the *natural* ignorance and imbecility of youth: except these, service in England is, as it ought to be, voluntary and by contract; a fair exchange of work for wages; an equal bargain, in which each party has his rights and his redress; wherein every servant chuses his master. Can this be mended? I will add, that a continuance of this connection is frequently the foundation of so much mutual kindness and attachment, that very few friendships are more cordial, or more sincere; that it leaves oftentimes nothing in servitude, except the name; nor any distinction, but what one party is as much pleased with, and sometimes also, as proud of as the other.

What then (for this is the fair way of calculating) is there in higher stations to place against these advantages? What does the poor man see in the life or condition of the rich that should render him dissatisfied with his own?

Was there as much in sensual pleasures, I mean in the luxuries of eating and drinking, and other gratifications of that sort, as some mens' imaginations would represent there to be, but which no man's experience finds in them, I contend, that, even in these respects, the advantage is on the side of the poor. The rich who addict themselves to indulgence lose their relish. Their desires are dead. Their sensibilities are worn and tired. Hence they lead a languid, satiated existence. Hardly any thing can amuse, or rouse, or gratify them. Whereas the poor man, if something extraordinary fall in his way, comes to the repast with appetite; is pleased and refreshed; derives from his usual course of moderation and temperance a quickness of perception and delight, which the
unrestrained

unrestrained voluptuary knows nothing of. Habits of all kinds are much the same. Whatever is habitual becomes smooth, and indifferent, and nothing more. The luxurious receive no greater pleasures from their dainties, than the peasant does from his homely fare. But here is the difference. The peasant, when ever he goes abroad, finds a feast, whereas the epicure must be sumptuously entertained to escape disgust. They who spend every day in diversions, and they who go every day about their usual business, pass their time much alike. Attending to what they are about, wanting nothing, regretting nothing, they are both, whilst engaged, in a state of ease; but then whatever suspends the pursuits of the man of diversion distresses him, whereas to the labourer or the man of business every pause is a recreation. And this is a vast advantage which they possess who are trained and inured to a life of occupation, above the man who sets up for a life of pleasure. Variety is soon exhausted. Novelty itself is no longer new. Amusements are become too familiar to delight, and he is in a situation in which he can never change but for the worse.

Another article, which the poor are apt to envy in the rich, is their *ease*. Now here they mistake the matter totally. They call inaction ease, whereas nothing is farther from it. Rest is ease. That is true. But no man can rest who has not worked. Rest is the cessation of labour. It cannot therefore be enjoyed, or even tasted, except by those who have known fatigue. The rich see, and not without envy, the refreshment and pleasure which rest affords to the poor, and chuse to wonder that they cannot find the same enjoyment in being free from the necessity of working at all. They do not observe that this enjoyment must be purchased by previous labour, and that he who will not pay the price, cannot have the gratification. Being without work is one thing; reposing from work is another. The one is as tiresome and insipid, as the other is sweet and soothing. The one in general is the fate of the rich man, the other is the fortune of the poor. I have heard it said, that if the face of happiness can any where be seen, it is in the summer evening of a country village. Where, after the labours of the day, each man, at his door, with his children, amongst his neighbours, feels his frame and his heart at rest, every thing about him pleased and pleasing, and a delight and complacency in his sensations far beyond what either luxury or diversion can afford. The rich want this; and they want what they must never have.

As to some other things which the poor are disposed to envy

in the condition of the rich, such as their state, their appearance, the grandeur of their houses, dress, equipage, and attendance, they only envy the rich these things, because they do not know the rich. They have not opportunities of observing with what neglect and insensibility the rich possess and regard these things themselves. If they could see the great man in his retirement, and in his actual manner of life, they would find him, if pleased at all, taking pleasure in some of those simple enjoyments which they can command as well as he. They would find him amongst his children, in his husbandry, in his garden, pursuing some rural diversion, or occupied with some trifling exercise, which are all gratifications, as much within the power and reach of the poor man, as of the rich; or rather more so.

To learn the art of contentment, is only to learn what happiness actually consists in. Sensual pleasures add little to its substance. Ease, if by that be meant exemptions from labour, contributes nothing. One, however, constant spring of satisfaction, and almost infallible support of cheerfulness and spirits, is the exercise of domestic affections; the presence of objects of tenderness and endearment in our families, our kindred, our friends. Now have the poor any thing to complain of here? Are they not surrounded by their relatives as generally as others. The poor man has his wife and children about him; and what has the rich man more? He has the same enjoyment of their society, the same solicitude for their welfare, the same pleasure in their good qualities, improvement and success: their connection with him is as strict and intimate, their attachment as strong, their gratitude as warm. I have no propensity to envy any one, least of all the rich and great; but if I were disposed to this weakness, the subject of my envy would be, a healthy young man, in full possession of strength and faculties, going forth in a morning to work for his wife and children, or bringing them home his earnings at night.

But was difference of rank or fortune of more importance to personal happiness than it is, it would be ill purchased by any sudden or violent change of condition. An alteration of circumstances, which breaks up a man's habits of life, deprives him of his occupation, removes him from his acquaintance, may be called an elevation of fortune, but hardly ever brings with it an addition of enjoyment. They to whom accidents of this sort have happened, never found them to answer their expectations. After the first hurry of the change is over, they are surprised to feel in themselves, listlessness
and

and dejection, - a consciousness of solitude, vacancy and restraint, in the place of cheerfulness, liberty, and ease. They try to make up for what they have lost, sometimes by a beastly sottishness, sometimes by a foolish dissipation, sometimes by a stupid sloth ; all which effects are only so many confessions, that changes of this sort were not made for man. If any public disturbance should produce, not an equality, (for that is not the proper name to give it) but a jumble of ranks and professions amongst us, it is not only evident what the rich would lose, but there is also this further misfortune, that what the rich lost, the poor would not gain. I (God knows) could not get my livelihood by labour, nor would the labourer find any solace or enjoyment in my studies.—If we were to exchange conditions to-morrow, all the effect would be, that we both should be more miserable, and the work of both be worse done. Without debating therefore, what might be very difficult to decide, which of our two conditions was better to begin with, one point is certain, that it is best for each to remain in his own. The change, and the only change, to be desired, is that gradual and progressive improvement of our circumstances, which is the natural fruit of successive industry ; when each year is something better than the last ; when we are enabled to add to our little household one article after another of new comfort or conveniency, as our profits increase, or our burthen becomes less ; and, what is best of all, when we can afford, as our strength declines, to relax our labours, or divide our cares. This may be looked forward to, and is practicable, by great numbers, in a state of public order and quiet ; it is absolutely impossible in any other.

If in comparing the different conditions of social life we bring religion into the account, the argument is still easier. Religion smooths all inequalities, because it unfolds a prospect which makes all earthly distinctions nothing. And I do allow that there are many cases of sickness, affliction, and distress, which Christianity alone can comfort. But in estimating the mere diversities of station and civil condition, I have not thought it necessary to introduce religion into the enquiry at all, because I contend, that the man who murmurs and repines, when he has nothing to murmur and repine about, but the mere want of independent property, is not only irreligious, but ill founded and unreasonable in his complaint ; and that he would find, did he know the truth, and consider his case fairly, that a life of labour, such I mean as is led by the labouring part of mankind in this country, has advantages in it,
which

which compensate all its inconveniencies. When compared with the life of the rich, it is better in these important respects. It supplies employment, it promotes activity. It keeps the body in better health, the mind more engaged, and, of course, more quiet. It is more sensible of ease, more susceptible of pleasure. It is attended with greater alacrity of spirits, a more constant chearfulness and serenity of temper. It affords easier and more certain methods of sending children into the world in situations suited to their habits and expectations. It is free from many heavy anxieties which rich men feel; it is fraught with many sources of delight which they want.

If to these reasons for contentment the reflecting husbandman or artificer adds another very material one, that changes of condition, which are attended with a breaking up and sacrifice of our ancient course and habit of living, never can be productive of happiness, he will perceive, I trust, that to covet the stations or fortunes of the rich, or so however to covet them, as to wish to seize them by force, or through the medium of public uproar and confusion, is not only wickedness, but folly; as mistaken in the end, as in the means; *that it is not only to venture out to sea in a storm, but to venture for nothing.*

Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Loughborough in the House of Lords, on the third reading of the Bill for establishing certain Regulations respecting Aliens, December 26, 1792.

HIS Lordship, in a most animated, eloquent, and argumentative Speech, took a view of the Bill as it then stood before the House. He said, that he had not hitherto interrupted their Lordships' deliberations upon it, and had hoped it would have passed with an unanimity that would have required no more than his silent assent: but he felt himself under the painful necessity of delivering the reasons of his opinion, because it differed totally from that of the Noble Earl (of GUILFORD) for whom he entertained the warmest friendship, founded on an affection that had commenced at a very early period of the Noble Lord's life; which, as his virtues ripened into manhood, had grown into respect and esteem, and was increased by the pious regard he must ever bear to the memory of those incomparable talents, and that excellent disposition, the loss of which had been so recently

recently felt, and would be so long and so justly regretted, in that House: That he felt, however, some consolation from the Noble Lord's having very candidly stated his own uneasiness in differing from a Noble Duke, (the Duke of PORTLAND) in whose sentiments he was always happy to concur; the difference of opinion must, on that account, give him less pain, and he trusted would be no interruption of a friendship which on his part would ever continue, and go as far as any friendship could or ought to do—it would extend *usque ad aras*.—To that term it had now reached; for the Altar and the Throne, in his judgment, were both engaged in the issue of the present question. The duty of a subject, his regard for the laws of the country, to which, as a Magistrate he was more particularly bound, the obligations of religion, and the allegiance which he owed to the Crown for the protection he received from it, called for his support to Government on the present occasion.

It had been objected, that this Bill was a new and extraordinary measure. The principle was not new.—By the Common Law, *Aliens* were here by the permission and protection of the King, which might be withdrawn. Blackstone and other Authors prove this: and the Act of Henry V. quoted against it, was not an Act to enable the King to send away the *Bretons*, but oblige them to go under pain of death.

The Bill was indeed an extraordinary measure; but was not the situation in which we stood, equally so? There might be some cases bearing a little affinity to the present, found in history, but none exactly parallel. The period which produced circumstances the most similar, was the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At that time the great and overgrown power of Philip II. agitated and alarmed every surrounding nation. Actuated not only by ambition, but by a religious fanaticism; intent upon the propagation of its own doctrines; its greatest efforts were exerted against this Island. Money, forces, seditious writings, emissaries, were employed to excite plots in England, insurrections in Ireland, and attacks from Scotland, against the Queen; but they were employed in vain, owing to the wise regulations adopted by that Princess and her Councils. At present, a great and powerful people, actuated by a new fanaticism of infidelity, were endeavouring to propagate over all Europe, principles as inconsistent with all established Governments as they were with the happiness of mankind. However wild and extravagant their doctrines might be, they had indisputably made some proselytes in this country; and though the numbers were comparatively trifling
and

and insignificant, they were stirring and active in their mischievous purposes, deeply enraged against all establishments, harbouring the most dangerous designs, and confident of foreign aid. The Proclamation which his Majesty's Ministers thought it expedient to issue during the last spring, and which his Lordship entirely approved of, had for a time the desired effect. Men who before had been loud in their commendations of the measures of France, became more moderate and reserved; and in proportion as the success of the combined armies against France became more probable, that voice became still more faint. After the horrid massacres of the tenth of August and second of September, all their partizans had abandoned them: the language then was, that after such flagitious conduct they could not find a friend in any quarter of the globe:—but as a melancholy proof how much, in the eyes of mankind success constitutes the justice, and misfortune the guilt of any measure, the moment the tide of war turned in favour of the French, that moment their partizans resumed their courage; those who before hung down their heads silent and abashed, now became more audacious than ever; sedition again broke out with increased force; Clubs and Societies for spreading their doctrines were formed all over the kingdom, and their numbers stated with exultation and boast; and means of communication were established between these different Societies.

Embassies were sent to France to congratulate the National Assembly of that country on their success, and even to promise the assistance of numbers here who would rise up in their cause, and who in return expected their fraternal aid to overturn this Constitution.

In France, anarchy and confusion triumphed over all order and regularity—they had long villified and despised the Christian religion; but now, incredible as it might appear, public professions of Atheism have been made in full Convention, and received with much applause:—publicly was it declared that there existed no God—Atheism was the basis of their institutions, which studiously contradicted every commandment of God. The sanctity of the seventh day they had very early abolished; and the relation of parent and child they had destroyed. Their false prophet had taught, that no honour was due to the parent, who in his turn might abandon the child. Robbery, murder, and licentiousness, not only were unpunished, but encouraged as meritorious acts. False testimony was a proof of patriotism; and an universal breach of the Tenth Commandment was the first principle and foundation

tion of their State. So entirely were all ideas of property which is an ordinance of God subverted, that it had lately been publicly declared, that the farmer had only the possession of the corn he had reaped, but that the property was in the Public, who had a right at discretion to take it from him.

In all he said, his Lordship wished to be understood as not speaking against the French nation in general. Reflections upon a whole nation, or any large body of men, were always illiberal in principle, and generally wrong in application; and therefore he should always endeavour to avoid them: but the truth was, that all these disgraceful proceedings were not the proceedings of the Nation, but of a faction, who by desperate acts had become the ruling power for a time; and the first thing they did was to delude the understanding of the populace, and to intimidate by the cruelty of their usurpation all that they could not deceive. By such means they seemed to have obtained the assent of the whole people, which could not possibly be true, from the sudden and violent transitions they had made in the forms of their anarchy. In the course of a few weeks they had solemnly abjured, and suddenly adopted, what they called a Republic.

It had been said that the fears of Ministers were all affected; that there was no foundation for the alarms which they had circulated. Ministers were tauntingly called upon for their proofs. Parliamentary scepticism might be allowed; but if any man out of the House were to advance such an opinion, he would be laughed at. A proper sense of their danger had pervaded all ranks of men; and they had come forward as one man in defence of their common cause. However he might think that Ministers ought to have perceived the danger, and have endeavoured to avert it sooner than they did, yet he could not help confessing, that they were peculiarly fortunate in the moment of their interposition.

A Noble Lord had spoken with contempt of the supposed numbers of French Emisseries here, as being only *nineteen*. He would wish to call to their Lordship's recollection, that in the disgraceful riots of the year 1780, the whole of the number originally concerned in that infamous proceeding, and which turned out to be the terror of every peaceable inhabitant in the metropolis, was not above threescore.—When their Lordships were informed that in the shocking massacres of the second and third of September, there were not more than two hundred persons employed, and that in a city containing more than six hundred thousand inhabitants, with thirty thousand men under arms, their Lordships would not think

think lightly of nineteen persons armed with daggers under the cry of *No King*. We might now have been in the like situation as we were in 1780, had not Ministers timely prevented it by calling out the Militia ; and by making the military preparations which we all saw or heard of.—Such measures, it might have been expected, would have restored complete tranquillity to this country, but it had done so only in part.

It had been objected by a Noble Earl, (LAUDERDALE) that the Associations formed on the part of the Friends of the Constitution, were improper ; and that too, when other Associations were held, not to prevent sedition, but to increase it ; not to prevent anarchy, but to create it ; not to check the dissemination of libels, but to spread them abroad ; and even to bring into contempt the jurisprudence of the country ; to create discontent in the public mind at the manner the law was administered, even after verdict. . Persons there were who took this method of talking of the liberty of the press ; and of continuing to abuse others for doing what was the duty of every good citizen, which was to do all he could to enforce the execution of the law.—Had the Noble Earl, who made the objection, consulted the Constitution, he would have found that all men are bound to assist in putting the law in force, and in aiding and assisting the Magistracy to do so. These Associations go no further—they are not only legal but highly meritorious, as tending to strengthen the hands of Government, and by keeping men upon their guard to prevent the insidious designs of their enemies ; they are for the preservation, and not for the destruction of Civil and Religious Liberty.—The voice of the people had been clearly and animatedly expressed by their means.

He begged to inform the Noble Lord, that as these Meetings were legal, he would state those which were *not legal*.—It was a high breach of the Law and the Constitution for any body of men to assemble and insolently to publish Resolutions declaratory of their disapprobation of the conduct of Judges and Juries—It was a daring violation of the Law to assemble and publish opinions which militated against the express letter and spirit of an existing Act of Parliament.—Let the Noble Lord comment on this—he cannot mistake what the real Constitution is—it is not founded on the wild ideas of mistaken philosophy—its basis is Justice—its structure is Wisdom.

There were two classes of Frenchmen now in this country:

one who came hither by necessity to take refuge ; they should of course be treated with tenderness and humanity :—another class who came hither for the purpose of, and who were active in doing all they could to create confusion ; they of course were the proper objects of this Bill, and ought to be of much greater severity.

After observing that we should, in this case, give Ministers all the power they asked, and the Confidence which the Romans, in their freest state gave to their Consuls when they passed the decree “ *Caverent Consules ne quid detrimenti capiat Republica*,” his Lordship came to the necessity of the present measure, on which, he observed, the following question would arise : “ Can this measure be justified upon the circumstances of this country at the present moment ? ” He confessed he had no difficulty in answering in the affirmative ; and to add, that he was of opinion, that the situation of the country was such as would have justified a stronger measure. As to the disposition which had manifested itself in this country to excite tumult and create sedition, he believed it to be still dangerous : and that it ought to be narrowly watched :—it was stifled for a time, but not extinguished—it would continue in that state, requiring vigilant attention while a neighbouring country remained in confusion, and any expectation could be formed that the contagion might be communicated to this. If neglected or disregarded by the Executive Government, that must happen ; and therefore he must repeat it, the danger was not at an end ; and he hoped that all the inhabitants of this kingdom would join heart and hand in assisting the Executive Government, and consider themselves as pledged to fight *pro aris et focis* on this occasion :—with such a sentiment we should be safe—without it we might be ruined.

Government, he was glad to see, possessed the confidence of the Country ; to diminish that confidence at the present time, would be to increase the danger with which the country was threatened. He wished to avoid any thing like party spirit in the course of this proceeding. There were many instances where divisions of opinion, and where party were laudable ; but not when the enemy were at the gate, and some of them within the citadel :—then we ought, with a generous manliness, to sustain the acts of Administration ; not indeed blindly and implicitly, without examining them, but after having examined, and seeing nothing greatly defective, but finding them chiefly good, to confide in them liberally, for the due execution of what was within the limits of their duty.

All parties should come forward and strengthen the arm of Government

Government as much as they could ; they should bury and forget all former differences and disputes, and unite in their efforts to preserve our glorious Constitution : it was such a fabric, that, if he could, he would make it immortal—his wishes certainly went to that length—and on that subject he could only add, *ESTO PERPETUA!*

PUBLICATIONS

Printed by Order of

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER VII.

CONTAINING

The Charge of the Hon. Mr. Justice Ashurst, to the Grand Jury in the Court of King's Bench.—Appendix to the Bishop of Landuff's Sermon.—Reflections on the present Crisis.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Temple-bar, Strand; where the Bookfellers in Town and Country may be served with any Quantity.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

The Charge of the Hon. Mr. Justice Ashurst, to the Grand Jury in the Court of King's Bench. Delivered Hilary Term 1793.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

IT would be a very superfluous labour were I to take up your time, in explaining to you the general outlines of your duty, respecting the office you are now engaged in; which, from the frequent return of this service, you are most of you sufficiently acquainted with. But I cannot omit this opportunity of congratulating you, that within these last two months, things wear a very different aspect, with respect to the internal tranquillity of this kingdom, from what they did antecedent to that period.

Gentlemen, the people of England, in general, have fully answered the opinion I always entertained of their understanding, their loyalty, their firmness, and the good-

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ness of their hearts ; which wanted nothing but to be called forth into exertion.

The zeal and spirit which has been shewn by the different societies in this metropolis, has warmed and pervaded the most distant parts of this kingdom ; and the several useful publications which have been dispersed abroad, have enlightened the deluded minds of the lower classes of the people, which had been deceived and practised upon by the diabolical artifices of crafty and designing men ; they begin now to see the folly and impracticability of those idle and delusive notions, which had been held forth to them, of a general equality in all men ; a thing which could not exist in a state of civil government, in which the only rational idea of equality is that which results from an equal protection of the laws, extending itself alike to the highest and the lowest subject of the kingdom, and which, we are all sensible, obtains here in its utmost extent.

Gentlemen, the spirit of loyalty, and the love of their country, has now been raised in almost every breast, (except in those rancorous hearts that have sold themselves to all mischief) and there wants nothing but perseverance to produce a general unanimity amongst us. When that object is attained, and I think we may now say, it is very nearly attained, we have nothing to fear from foreign foes. They know that they have no other dependance but that of creating divisions amongst ourselves ; that hope, I trust, is now frustrated ; and whether we can or cannot avert the evil of a foreign war, let us at least endeavour to preserve the blessings of peace at home ; the way to insure which is, by firmly retaining our loyalty to our king, our reverence for the laws, and for our wise and excellent constitution.

Gentlemen, I do not wonder that artful, designing, and insidious men, should wish to represent the Societies I have before alluded to (calculated for the most laudable purposes) as unconstitutional and illegal : but one cannot help expressing some surprise, that those men, who have now, for the first time, made that discovery, should not have found out, at an earlier period, the illegality of other Societies, which were formed all over the kingdom (in correspondence with each other) for the express purpose of misleading, and poisoning the minds of the lower classes of the people, with sentiments subversive of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and indeed of all order and Government : and yet one does not find that these men have ever reprehended *such* Societies, as unconstitutional or illegal. Gentlemen, I shall make no further comment on this incongruity of behaviour

haviour, but shall leave it to the judicious public to draw their own conclusions.

In the mean time let not those valuable Members of Society, who have united in the support of our excellent Constitution, be afraid of unmerited calumny; we are told by the greatest of all authorities, that the tree is best known by its fruits. If this be true, it must follow as a necessary consequence, that these Societies, which are calculated for the express purposes of suppressing sedition, for inculcating loyalty, and keeping up and supporting a due observance of the laws (and which have been found to be attended with that effect) can not, in the nature of things, be illegal or unconstitutional.

It is, and ought to be the first end and principle of law to enforce and support good order and Government, and to curb and restrain all such practices, as may tend to stir up strife and sedition; it is the duty of every good subject, to assist the Civil Magistrate in promoting this desirable end; and certainly there never was a time when this assistance was more emphatically necessary, than when the most dangerous plans and confederacies were on foot, for the subversion of all Government. Although the favourers of anarchy have affected to laugh at the groundless apprehensions of those whose business it was to watch over the safety of the country; it has since appeared, by the clearest evidence, that those apprehensions were but too well founded. It was on this occasion, and for these purposes, that these constitutional Societies were set on foot; and they have never, that I have heard of, deviated from the ends of their Institution. On the contrary, they have in my opinion shewn themselves the friends of order and Government, and at the same time the friends of liberty in all its branches: for nothing is more true than that *they* are the best friends to liberty, who use their endeavours to restrain it within the bounds of law, and to repress all licentiousness; and *they*, on the other hand, are its most dangerous foes, who, under the specious masque of liberty, prostitute it to purposes ill corresponding with the name; as such prostitution may tend to lessen in mens' minds that love and veneration, which ought to reside in the breast of every good man, for the sacred name of liberty when *rightly understood*, and *properly made use of*.

Gentlemen, I have been led to digress beyond the limit of my original intention, which was only to recommend it to you, to persevere in the same line of conduct, which has been found so much to contribute to the public service: but

perhaps my having done so, may not be altogether unseasonable, as it may tend to prevent mens' minds from being misled by specious names, and to induce them to judge of mens' intentions by their actions, which will always be found to be the surest criterion.

Gentlemen, I shall not take up any more of your time, which may be more usefully employed in the service you are engaged in, and which I doubt not but you will discharge with fidelity and dispatch.

*Appendix to the Bishop of Llandaff's Sermon,
preached in Charlotte-street Chapel, April 1785.*

THE Sermon which is now, for the first time, published, was written many years ago; it may, perhaps, on that account be more worthy of the attention of those for whose benefit it is designed. If it shall have any effect in calming the perturbation which has been lately excited, and which still subsists in the minds of the lower classes of the community, I shall not be ashamed of having given to the world a composition in every other light uninteresting. I will take this opportunity of adding, with the same intention, a few reflections on the present circumstances of our own, and of a neighbouring country.

With regard to France—I have no hesitation in declaring, that the object which the French seemed to have in view at the commencement of their revolution, had my hearty approbation. The object was to free themselves and their posterity from arbitrary power. I hope there is not a man in Great Britain so little sensible of the blessings of that free Constitution under which he has the happiness to live: so entirely dead to the interests of general humanity, as not to wish that a Constitution similar to our own might be established, not only in France, but in every despotic state in Europe: not only in Europe, but in every quarter of the globe.

It is one thing to approve of an end, another to approve of the means by which an end is accomplished. I did not approve of the means by which the first revolution was effected in France.—I thought that it would have been a wiser measure to have abridged the oppressive privileges, and to have lessened the enormous number of the nobility, than to have abolished the order.—I thought that the state
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ought not in justice to have seized any part of the property of the church, till it had reverted, as it were, to the community, by the death of its immediate possessors.—I thought that the king was not only treated with unmerited indignity ; but that too little authority was left him, to enable him, as the chief executive magistrate, to be useful to the state.—These were some of my reasons for not approving the means by which the first revolution in France was brought about. As to other evils which took place on the occasion, I considered them certainly as evils of importance ; but at the same time as evils inseparable from a state of civil commotion, and which I conceived would be more than compensated by the establishment of a limited monarchy.

The French have abandoned the constitution they had at first established, and have changed it for another. No one can reprobate with more truth than I do both the means, and the end of this change.—The end has been the establishment of a republic—Now, a republic is a form of government, which, of all others, I most dislike—and I dislike it for this reason ; because of all forms of government, scarcely excepting the most despotic, I think a republic the most oppressive to the bulk of the people : they are deceived in it with the shew of liberty ; but they live in it, under the most odious of all tyrannies, the tyranny of their equals.—With respect to the means by which this new republic has been erected in France, they have been sanguinary, savage, more than brutal. They not merely fill the heart of every individual with commiseration for the unfortunate sufferers ; but they exhibit to the eye of contemplation, an humiliating picture of human nature, when its passions are not regulated by religion, or controlled by law.—I fly with terror and abhorrence even from the altar of Liberty, when I see it stained with the blood of the aged, of the innocent, of the defenceless sex, of the ministers of religion, and of the faithful adherents of a fallen monarch.—My heart sinks within me when I see it streaming with the blood of the monarch himself.—Merciful God, strike speedily, we beseech thee, with deep contrition, and sincere remorse, the obdurate hearts of the relentless perpetrators and projectors of these horrid deeds, lest they should suddenly sink into eternal and extreme perdition, loaded with an unutterable weight of unrepented, and, except through the blood of Him whose religion they reject, inexpiable sin.

The monarch, you will tell me, was guilty of perfidy and perjury.—I know not that he was guilty of either ; but admitting that he has been guilty of both,—who, alas ! of the

sons of men, is so confident in the strength of his own virtue, so assured of his own integrity and intrepidity of character, as to be certain, that under similar temptations he would not have been guilty of similar offences? Surely it would have been no diminution of the sternness of new republican virtue, no disgrace to the magnanimity of a great nation, if it had pardoned the perfidy which its own oppression had occasioned—if it had remitted the punishment of the perjury of the king, to the tribunal of Him, by whom *kings reign and princes decree justice*.

And are there any men in this kingdom, except such as find their account in public confusion, who would hazard the introduction of such scenes of rapine, barbarity, and bloodshed, as have disgraced France, and outraged humanity, for the sake of obtaining—What?—Liberty and Equality.—I suspect, that the meaning of these terms is not clearly and generally understood; it may be of use to explain them.

The liberty of a man in a state of nature, consists in his being subject to no law but the law of nature—and the liberty of a man in a state of society, consists in his being subject to no law, but to the law enacted by the general will of the society to which he belongs.—And to what other law is any man in Great Britain subject? The king, we are all justly persuaded, has not the inclination; and we all know that, if he had the inclination, he has not the power, to substitute his will in the place of the law. The house of Lords has no such power; the house of commons has no such power; the church has no such power; the rich men of the country have no such power. The poorest man amongst us, the beggar at our door, is governed—not by the uncertain, passionate, arbitrary will of an individual—not by the selfish insolence of an aristocratic faction—not by the madness of democratic violence—but by the fixed, impartial, deliberate voice of law, enacted by the general suffrage of a free people.—Is your property injured? Law, indeed, does not give you property; but it ascertains it.—Property is acquired by industry and probity; by the exercise of talents and ingenuity; and the possession of it is secured by the laws of the community. Against whom think you is it secured? It is secured against thieves and robbers; against idle and profligate men, who, however low your condition may be, would be glad to deprive you of the little you possess. It is secured, not only against such disturbers of the public peace, but against the oppression of the noble, the rapacity of the powerful, and the avarice of the rich. The courts of British justice are impartial and incorrupt; they re-
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spect not the persons of men ; the poor man's lamb is, in their estimation, as sacred as the monarch's crown ; with inflexible integrity they adjudge to every man his own. Your property under their protection is secure.—If your personal liberty be unjustly restrained, though but for an hour, and that by the highest servants of the crown—the crown cannot screen them ; the throne cannot hide them ; the law, with an undaunted arm, seizes them, and drags them with irresistible might to the judgment of whom ?—of your equals—of twelve of your neighbours.—In such a constitution as this, what is there to complain of on the score of liberty ?

The greatest freedom that can be enjoyed by man in a state of civil society ; the greatest security that can be given him with respect to the protection of his character, property, personal liberty, limb, and life, is afforded to every individual by our present constitution.

The equality of man in a state of nature, does not consist in an equality of bodily strength, or intellectual ability, but in their being equally free from the dominion of each other.—The equality of man in a state of civil society, does not consist in an equality of wisdom, honesty, ingenuity, industry, —nor in an equality of property resulting from a due exertion of these talents ; but in being equally subject to, equally protected by the same laws—And who knows not that every individual in this great nation, is, in this respect, equal to every other ? There is not one law for the nobles, another for the commons of the land—one for the clergy, another for the laity—one for the rich, another for the poor. The nobility it is true, have some privileges annexed to their birth ; the judges, and other magistrates, have some annexed to their office ; and professional men have annexed to their professions—but these privileges are neither injurious to the liberty or property of other men : And you might as reasonably contend, that the bramble ought to be equal to the oak ; the lamb to the lion ; as that no distinctions should take place between the members of the same society.—The burthens of the state are distributed through the whole community, with as much impartiality as the complex nature of taxation will admit ; every man sustains a part in proportion to his strength ; no order is exempted from the payment of taxes.—Nor is any order of men exclusively entitled to the enjoyment of the lucrative offices of the state. All cannot enjoy them, but all enjoy a capacity of acquiring them. The son of the meanest man in the nation may become a general or an admiral, a lord chancellor or an archbishop. If any person have been so simple as to suppose, that even the French ever intended by

the term equality, an equality of property, they have been quite mistaken in their ideas. The French never understood by it, any thing materially different from what we and our ancestors have been in full possession of for many ages.

Other nations may deluge their land with blood in struggling for liberty and equality ; but let it never be forgotten by our selves, and let us impress the observation upon the hearts of our children, that we are in possession of both ; of as much of both, as can be consistent with the end for which civil society was introduced amongst mankind.

The provision which is made for the poor in this kingdom is so liberal, as, in the opinion of some, to discourage industry. The rental of the lands in England and Wales does not, I conjecture, amount to more than eighteen millions a year ; and the poor rates amount to two millions. The poor then, at present, possess a ninth part of the landed rental of the country ; and, reckoning ten pounds for the annual maintenance of each pauper, it may be inferred, that those who are maintained by the community do not constitute a fortieth part of the people. An equal division of land would be to the poor a great misfortune ; they would possess far less than by the laws of the land they are at present entitled to. When we add to this consideration, an account of the immense sums annually subscribed by the rich for the support of hospitals, infirmaries, dispensaries—for the relief of sufferers by fire, tempests, famines, loss of cattle, great sickness and other misfortunes ; all of which charities must cease were all men on a level, for all men would then be equally poor ; it cannot but excite one's astonishment, that so foolish a system should have ever been so much as mentioned by any man of common sense. It is a system not practicable ; and was it practicable, it would not be useful ; and was it useful, it would not be just.

But some one may think, and indeed, it has been studiously inculcated into the minds of the multitude, that a monarchy, even a limited one, is a far more expensive mode of civil government than a republic ; that a civil list of a million a year, is an enormous sum which might be saved to the nation. Supposing that every shilling of this sum could be saved, and that every shilling of it was expended in supporting the dignity of the crown—both which suppositions are entirely false—still should I think the liberty, the prosperity, the tranquillity, the happiness of this great nation cheaply purchased by such a sum ; still should I think that he would be a madman in politics who would, by a change in the constitution, risk these blessings (and France supplies us with a proof that infinite risk, would be run)

run) for a paltry saving of expence. I am not, nor have ever been, the patron of corruption. So far as the civil list has a tendency to corrupt the judgment of any member of either house of parliament, it has had a bad tendency which I wish it had not ; but I cannot wish to see the splendour of the crown reduced to nothing, lest its proper weight in the scale of the constitution should be thereby destroyed. A great portion of this million is expended in paying the salaries of the judges, the interpreters of our law, the guardians of our lives and properties! —Another portion is expended in maintaining ambassadors at different courts, to protect the general concerns of the nation from foreign aggression ; another portion is expended in pensions and donations to men of letters and ingenuity ; to men who have by naval, military, or civil services, just claims to the attention of their country ; to persons of respectable families and connexions, who have been humbled and broken down by misfortunes. I do not speak with accuracy, nor on such a subject is accuracy requisite ; but I am not far wide of truth in saying that a fifth part of the million is more than sufficient to defray the expences of the Royal household—What a mighty matter is it to complain of, that each individual contributes less than sixpence a year towards the support of the monarchy ?

That the constitution of this country is so perfect as neither to require, or admit of any improvement, is a proposition to which I never did, or ever can assent ; but I think it far too excellent to be amended by peasants or mechanics. I do not mean to speak of peasants and mechanics with any degree of disrespect ; I am not so ignorant of the importance, either of the natural or social chain by which all the individuals of the human race are connected together, as to think disrespectfully of any link of it ; peasants and mechanics are as useful to the state as any other order of men ; but their utility consists in their discharging well the duties of their respective stations ; it ceases when they affect to become legislators ; when they intrude themselves into concerns, for which their education has not fitted them.—The liberty of the press is a main support of the liberty of the nation ; it is a blessing which it is our duty to transmit to posterity ; but a bad use is sometimes made of it : and its use is never more pernicious, than when it is employed to infuse into the minds of the lowest orders of the community, disparaging ideas concerning the constitution of their country. No danger need be apprehended from a candid examination of our own constitution, or from a display of the advantages of any other ; it will bear to be contrasted with the best ; but all men are not qualified to make
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the comparison; and there are so many men, in every community, who wish to have no government at all, that an appeal to them on such a point, ought never to be made.

There are, probably, in every government upon earth, circumstances which a man, unaccustomed to the abstract investigation of truth, may easily prove to be deviations from the rigid rule of strict political justice; but whilst these deviations are either generally not known, or, though known, generally acquiesced in, as matters of little moment to the general felicity, I cannot think it to be the part, either of a good man or of a good citizen, to be zealous in recommending such matters to the discussion of ignorant and uneducated men.

I am far from insinuating, that the science of politics is involved in mystery; or that men of plain understandings should be debarred from examining the principles of the government, to which they yield obedience. All that I contend for is this—that the foundations of our government ought not to be overturned, nor the edifice erected thereon tumbled into ruins, because an acute politician may pretend, that he has discovered a flaw in the building, or that he could have laid the foundation after a better model.

What would you say to a stranger, who should desire you to pull down your house, because, forsooth, he had built one in France or America after, what he thought, a better plan? You would say to him—No, sir—my ancestors have lived in this mansion comfortably and honourably for many generations; all its walls are strong, and all its timbers sound; if I should observe a decay in any of its parts, I know how to make the reparation without the assistance of strangers; and I know too, that the reparation, when made by myself, may be made without injury either to the strength or beauty of the building. It has been buffeted, in the course of ages, by a thousand storms; yet still it stands unshaken as a rock, the wonder of all my neighbours, each of whom sighs for one of a similar construction. Your house may be suited to your climate and temper; this is suited to mine. Permit me, however, to observe to you, that you have not yet lived long enough in your new house, to be sensible of all the inconveniences to which it may be liable; nor have you yet had any experience of its strength; it has yet sustained no shocks; the first whirlwind may scatter its component members in the air; the first earthquake may shake its foundation; the first inundation may sweep the superstructure from the surface of the earth. I hope no accident will happen to your house, but I am satisfied with mine own.

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Great calamities of every kind attend the breaking up of established governments—yet there are some forms of government, especially when they happen to be badly administered, so exceedingly destructive of the happiness of mankind, that a change of them is not improvidently purchased, at the expence of the mischief accompanying their subversion. Our government is not of that kind: look round the globe, and see if you can discover a single nation on all its surface, so powerful, so rich, so beneficent, so free and happy as our own? May Heaven avert from the minds of my countrymen the slightest wish to abolish their constitution!

“Kingdoms,” observes Mr. Locke, “have been overturned by the pride, ambition, and turbulency of private men; by the people’s wantonness and desire to cast off the lawful authority of their rulers, as well as by the rulers’ insolence, and endeavours to get and exercise an arbitrary power over the people.” The recent danger to our constitution was in my opinion small; for I considered its excellence to be so obvious to men even of the most unimproved understandings, that I looked upon it as an idle and fruitless effort, either in foreign or domestic incendiaries, to endeavour to persuade the bulk of the people to consent to an alteration of it in favour of a republic. I knew, indeed, that in every country the flagitious dregs of a nation were always ripe for revolutions; but I was sensible, at the same time, that it was the interest, not only of the opulent and powerful; not only of the mercantile and middle classes of life; but even of honest labourers and manufacturers, of every sober and industrious man, to resist the licentious principles of such pestilent members, shall I call them, or outcasts of society. Men better informed and wiser than myself, thought that the constitution was in great danger. Whether in fact the danger was great or small, it is not necessary now to inquire; it may be more useful to declare, that, in my humble opinion, the danger, of whatever magnitude it may have been, did not originate in any encroachments of either the legislative or executive power on the liberties or properties of the people; but in the wild fancies, and turbulent tempers of discontented or ill informed individuals. I sincerely rejoice that, through the vigilance of administration, this turbulency has received a check. The hopes of bad men have been disappointed, and the understandings of mistaken men have been enlightened, by the general and unequivocal judgment of a whole nation; a nation not more renowned for its bravery and its humanity, though justly celebrated for both, than for its loyalty to its princes, and, what is perfectly consistent

sistent with loyalty, for its love of liberty, and attachment to the constitution. Wise men have formed it, brave men have bled for it, it is our part to preserve it.

R. LANDAFF.

London, Jan. 25,
1793.

Reflections on the present Crisis.

Dii Partii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum, tam certa tulistis
Pectora.

VIRG.

Ev'n yet, ye Guardian Gods, your pow'rs divine
Will fix the fortunes of your *favourite line*,
Since you the bosoms of your youths inspire
With full high courage, such celestial fire.

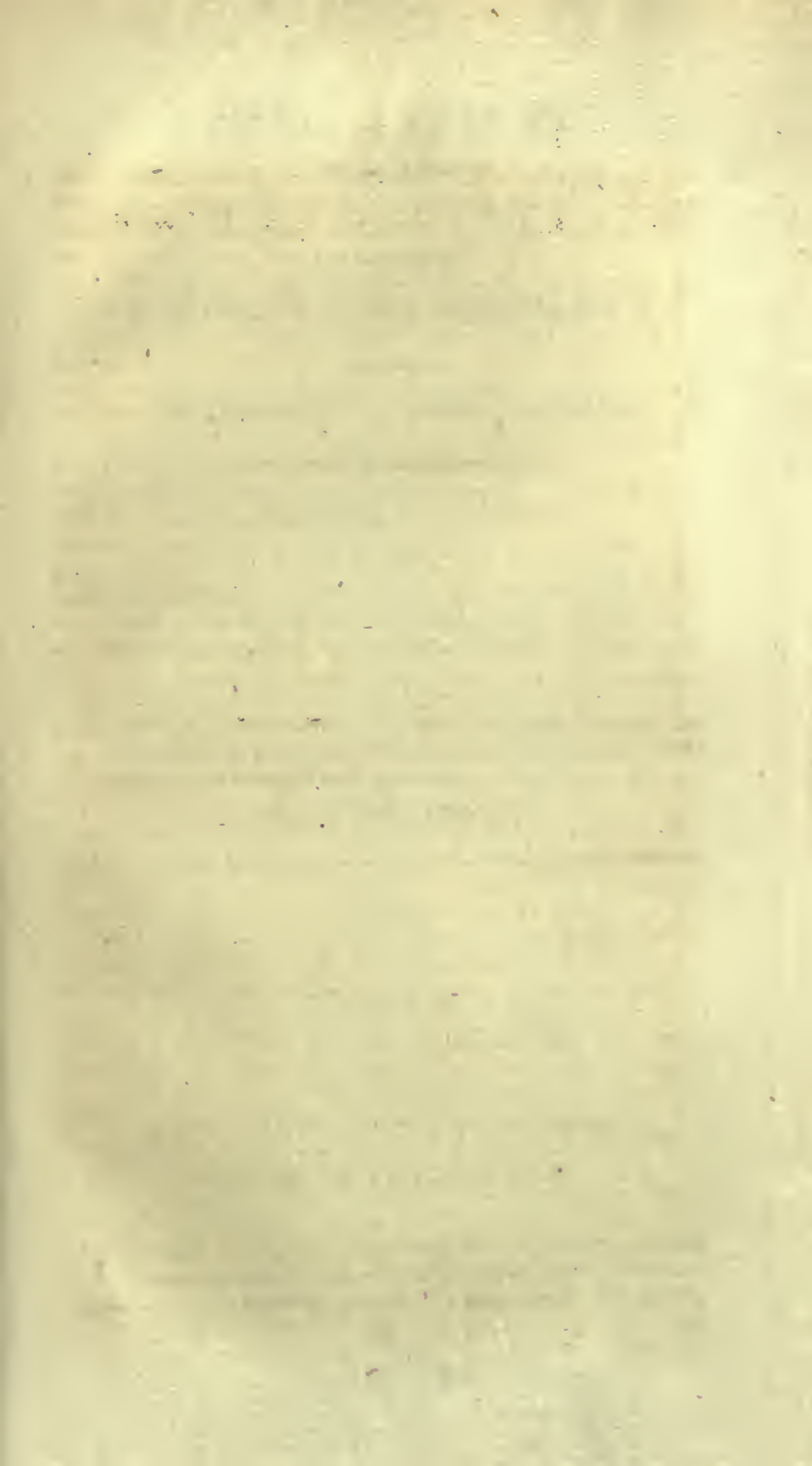
IT is an observation of a noble author, and celebrated statesman, that "National corruptions can only be purg'd by National calamities;" i. e. remov'd or corrected by the severity of the evils resulting from them. When such abuses have spread to a certain extent, and have arisen to a certain measure, the truth of the assertion can admit of no doubt; though the application of it to any particular nation would be unbecoming and presumptuous. For mere events, how striking soever, unless they are direct accomplishments of some plain prediction, cannot, of themselves, interpret the councils of the Deity. They may, however, in themselves, be of such a cast and complexion, and may also be attended with such circumstances, as to intimate in no obscure manner, that some grand scheme of Providence is preparing, in which, when fully unfolded, it will be manifest to the world, that Nations, as such, are accountable for their conduct; and that their fortunes will be ultimately fix'd by their moral and religious character. It is scarce possible, that any serious and considerate person should contemplate without astonishment and awe, either the occurrences of a few years past, or the incidents of the present juncture. By some law of our nature, improvement and recovery are slow and gradual. But, alas! how short is the passage, how easy the descent to disorder and depravation? Nations may tremble at this reflection, no less than individuals. For surely, whatever causes may have occurred in producing it,

it, so sudden, and so violent a change as that which has happen'd in the sentiments, manners, and character of a whole people; of a great, a powerful, and most polish'd Nation, was never yet experienc'd. In the outset of their Revolution, strong systems are seen of rational enthusiasm; I mean, an ardor for liberty so call'd. The conduct and progress of it has been mark'd throughout by a political *Mania*; by a wild and settled licentiousness of thinking and acting, worse than any tyranny either of ancient or of modern times. The whole course of their proceedings is full of wonder. But that a people who had shewn themselves unable to discern any medium between the condition of slaves, and rebels, should set up for instructors and reformers of mankind; should invite, admonish, and endeavor to compel the nations around them to follow their example, and throw off their allegiance; should offer their assistance in this way, to the English, of all others; and should find in this free and happy country, admirers and patrons, in men of the highest birth, and most splendid talents—these are particulars, which history must record, though posterity will hardly believe them. How long it is ordain'd that the British Constitution shall continue, the wisest know just as much as the most ignorant. But every one, who is at all acquainted with history, knows, that the factious proceedings of ambitious, disappointed demagogues, falling in with the treacherous designs of foreign enemies, have often been sufficient of themselves to ruin the most prosperous and flourishing states. That they have not succeeded in the present crisis, is owing, under Providence, to the good sense and virtuous indignation of a brave and generous PEOPLE, who disdain to desert their duty, and who now gladly join, as in one grand chorus, to express their feelings in that sublime hymn of gratitude, “Non nobis Domine, sed tuo Nomini gloria.” Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory. For, as secure as some men affected to be, the situation was truly perilous. Who would have thought beforehand, that the extreme abuses of the press, which portended such fatal mischief to Society, would operate at last, in a manner directly contrary to their natural tendency? Who would have conceiv'd, that the boldness of bad men, encourag'd by the tameness and timidity, as *they* supposed, but, as it now appears, by the discreet silence and wise forbearance of those in authority, would have overleap'd all bounds of prudence, and betray'd their designs before it was too late to defeat them? that the very means employed to excite discontent, would add lustre to

loyalty,

loyalty, and vigour to the Constitution. By this happy union of hearts and minds, the strongest arguments alledged against it by the shrewdest of its Opposers, are turn'd against himself. For if, according to *his* assumption, the sense of the people at large is the only firm basis of a legitimate Constitution, then is *OURS* the firmest that can be found in existence, or form'd in imagination. The people of this country *have* declar'd their regard and reverence for it in every possible manner of expression, proper, or improper. That their zeal for its safety has not always been discreet and temperate, is but another proof of their attachment to it.

All hopes of overturning it being now at an end, it would be well, if those, who think so well of it, that they cannot live happily under it, would remove to a region, where the shifting policy of the day is more suited to their principles, and their restless disposition may find constant employment. I conceive it will be no objection to their adopting this measure, that our spirited neighbours seem resolv'd in earnest, to have a *religion* as well as a government of *their own making*. Fairly tir'd of the *Christian* scheme, which they have patiently tried for thirteen centuries, or more, without finding any benefit from it in return for the mischiefs it had done by enjoining obedience to legal governors, and by incultating *peace* to the prejudice of *rights*, they are determined, it seems, to complete their independence, by getting rid of that yoke. This design would be less strange, if some parts of the Pagan Creed were not incompatible with their new theories. For is it possible that such *Divinities* as *Justice* and *Clemency*, *Fidelity* and *Truth*, or any other of that *noble family*, should ever find a niche in the PANTHEON of PARIS? In the room of those antiquated *Figures*, they will undoubtedly place their own heroes, philosophers, and statesmen, together with some foreign *Worthies* of congenial excellence, who can well be spared out of our country. The confusion arising from such a motley mixture of times and characters, will render their mode of worship but the more conformable to their scheme of government; and that, which has hitherto been considered as a mere visionary project, will, by their ingenuity be realiz'd, "a complete alliance between Church and State."





PUBLICATIONS

Printed by Order of

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER VIII.

CONTAINING,

The Advantages peculiar to a Monarchy, and the English Constitution. By M. De Lolme—Judge Buller's Charge to the Grand Jury of the County of York, at the Lent Assizes 1793.

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Bookfellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE
ADVANTAGES
PECULIAR TO A
MONARCHY,
AND THE
ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.
BY M. DE LOLME.

THE first peculiarity of the English Government, as a free Government, is its having a King,—is having thrown into one place the whole mass, if I may use the expression,
A of

of the Executive Power, and having invariably and for ever fixed it there. By this very circumstance, also, has the *detestum* of it been rendered sacred and inexpugnable; by making one great, very great, Man in the State, has an effectual check been put to the pretensions of those who otherwise would strive to become such; and disorders have been prevented, which, in all Republics, ever brought on the ruin of liberty; and before it was lost, obstructed the enjoyment of it.

If we cast our eyes on all the States that ever were free, we shall see that the People in them, ever turning their jealousy, as it was natural, against the Executive Power, but never thinking of the means of limiting it that have so happily taken place in England*, have never employed any other expedient besides that obvious one, of trusting that power to Magistrates whom they appointed annually; which was in a great measure to keep to themselves the management of it.

In a State which is small and poor, an arrangement of this kind is not attended with any great inconveniences, as every individual is taken up with the care of providing for his own subsistence; as great objects of ambition are wanting, and as evils cannot, in such a State, ever become much complicated. In a State that strives for aggrandisement, the difficulties and danger attending the pursuit of such plan, inspire a general spirit of caution, and every individual makes a sober use of his rights as a Citizen.

But when, at last, those exterior motives come to cease, and the passions, and even the virtues, which they excited, thus become reduced to a state of inaction, the People turn their eyes back toward the interior of the Republic; and every individual, in seeking then to concern himself in all affairs, seeks for new objects that may restore him to that state of exertion, which habit, he finds, has rendered necessary to him, and to exercise a power which, small as it is, yet flatters his vanity.

As the preceding events cannot have given an influence to a certain number of Citizens, they avail themselves of the general disposition of the People, to promote their

* The rendering that power dependent on the People for its supplies.

private views; the legislative power is thenceforth continually in motion; and as it is ill informed and falsely directed, almost every exertion of it is attended with some injury either to the laws, or the State.

This is not all; as those who compose the General Assemblies cannot, in consequence of their numbers, entertain any hopes of gratifying their private ambition, or, in general, their private passions, they at least seek to gratify their political caprices, and they accumulate the honours and dignities of the State on some favourite, whom the public voice happens to raise at that time.

But as in such a State there can be, from the irregularity of the determinations of the People, no such thing as a settled course of measures, it happens that Men never can exactly tell the present state of public affairs. The power thus given away is already grown very great, before those by whom it was given so much as suspect it; and he himself who enjoys that power, does not know its full extent: but then, on the first opportunity that offers, he suddenly pierces through the cloud which hid the summit from him, and at once seats himself upon it. The People, on the other hand, no sooner recover sight of him than they see their favourite become their Master; and discover the evil only to find that it is past remedy.

As this power, thus surreptitiously acquired, is destitute of the support both of the law, and of the antient course of things, and is even but indifferently respected by those who have subjected themselves to it, it cannot be maintained but by abusing it. The People at last succeed in forming somewhere a centre of union; they agree in the choice of a Leader; this Leader in his turn rises; in his turn also he betrays his engagements; power produces its wonted effects, and the Protector becomes a Tyrant.

This is not all; the same causes which have given a Master to the State, give it two, give it three. All those rival powers endeavour to swallow up each other; the State becomes a scene of quarrels and endless broils, and is in a continual convulsion.

If amidst such disorders the People retained their freedom, the evil must indeed be very great, to take away all the advantages of it; but they are slaves, and yet have not what in other countries makes amends for political servitude, I mean tranquillity.

In order to prove all these things, if proofs were deemed necessary, I would only refer the reader to what every one knows of Pisistratus and Megacles, of Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey. However, I cannot avoid translating a part of the speech which a Citizen of Florence addressed once to the Senate : the reader will find in it a kind of abridged story of all Republics ; at least of those which, by the share allowed to the People in the Government, deserved that name ; and which besides, have attained a certain degree of extent and power.

“ And that nothing human may be perpetual and stable,
 “ it is the will of Heaven, that in all States whatsoever,
 “ there should arise certain destructive families, who are the
 “ bane and ruin of them. Of this our Republic can afford
 “ as many and more deplorable examples than any other,
 “ as it owes its misfortunes not only to one, but to several of such families. We had at first the *Buondelmonti*
 “ and the *Hube ti*. We had afterwards the *Donati* and
 “ the *Cerchi* ; and at present (shameful and ridiculous
 “ conduct) we are waging war among ourselves for the
 “ *Ricci* and the *Albizzi*.”

“ When in former times the Ghibelins were suppressed,
 “ every one expected that the Guelfs, being then satisfied,
 “ would have chosen to live in tranquillity ; yet, but
 “ a little time had elapsed, when they again divided
 “ themselves into the factions of the *Whites* and the *Blacks*.
 “ When the Whites were suppressed, new parties arose, and
 “ new troubles followed. Sometimes battles were fought
 “ in favour of the Exiles ; and at other times, quarrels
 “ broke out between the Nobility and the People. And,
 “ as if resolved to give away to others what we ourselves
 “ neither knew, nor would peaceably enjoy, we committed the care of our liberty, at some times to King
 “ Robert, and at others to his brother ; and at length to
 “ the Duke of Athens ; never settling nor resting in any
 “ kind of Government, as not knowing either how to
 “ enjoy liberty or support servitude *.”

The English Constitution has prevented the possibility of misfortunes of this kind. Not only, by diminishing the power, or rather the actual exercise of the power, of the People ; and making them share in the Legislature

* See the History of Florence, by Machiavel, L. III.

only by their Representatives, the irresistible violence has been avoided of those numerous and General Assemblies, which, on whatever side they throw their weight, bear down every thing. Besides, as the power of the People, when they have any power and know how to use it, is at all times really formidable, the Constitution has set a counterpoise to it; and the Royal Authority is this counterpoise.

In order to render it equal to such a function, the Constitution has, in the first place, conferred on the King the exclusive prerogative of calling and dismissing the legislative Bodies, and of putting a negative on their resolutions.

Secondly, it has also placed on the side of the King the whole Executive Power in the Nation.

Lastly, in order to effect still nearer an equilibrium, the Constitution has invested the Man whom it has made the sole Head of the State, with all the personal privileges, all the pomp, all the majesty, of which human dignities are capable. In the language of the law, the King is Sovereign Lord, and the People are his subjects;—he is universal proprietor of the whole kingdom; he bestows all the dignities and places; and he is not to be addressed but with the expression and outward ceremony of almost oriental humility. Besides, his person is sacred and inviolable; and any attempt whatsoever against it, is, in the eye of the law, a crime equal to that of an attack against the whole State.

In a word, since to have too exactly completed the equilibrium between the power of the People and that of the Crown, would have been to sacrifice the end to the means, that is, to have endangered liberty with a view to strengthen the Government, the deficiency which ought to remain on the side of the latter, has at least been in appearance made up, by conferring on the King all that sort of strength that may result from the opinion and reverence of the people; and amidst the agitations which are the unavoidable attendants of liberty, the Royal Power, like an anchor which resists both by its weight and the depth of its hold, insures a salutary steadiness to the vessel of the State.

From this unity, and, if I may so express myself, this total sequestration, of the Executive authority, this advantageous consequence in the first place follows, that

the attention of the whole Nation is directed to one and the same object. The People, besides, enjoy this most essential advantage, which they would vainly endeavour to obtain under the Government of Many,—they can give their confidence, without giving power over themselves, and against themselves; they can appoint Trustees, and yet not give themselves Masters.

Those Men to whom the People have delegated the power of framing the Laws, are thereby made sure to feel the whole pressure of them.—They can increase the prerogatives of the Executive Authority, but they cannot invest themselves with it:—they have it not in their power to command its motions; they only can unbind its hands.

They are made to derive their importance, nay they are indebted for their existence, to the need in which that power stands of their assistance; and they know that they would no sooner have abused the trust of the People, and completed the treacherous work, than they would see themselves dissolved, spurned like instruments now spent and become useless.

This same disposition of things also prevents, in England, that essential defect inherent in the Government of Many.

In that sort of Government, the cause of the People, as has been observed, is continually deserted and betrayed. The arbitrary prerogatives of the governing Powers are at all times either openly or secretly favoured, not only by those in whose possession they are; not only by those who have reason to hope that they shall some time share in the exercise of them; but also by the whole croud of those Men who, in consequence of the natural disposition of mankind to over-rate their own advantages, fondly imagine, either that they shall one day enjoy some branch of this governing authority, or that they are even already, in some way or other, associated to it.

But as this authority has been made, in England, the indivisible, unalienable attribute of one alone, all other persons in the State are, *ipso facto*, interested to confine it within its due bounds.—Liberty is thus made the common cause of all;—the laws that secure it are supported by Men of every rank and order; and the *Habeas Corpus* Act, for instance, is as zealously defended by the first Nobleman in the Kingdom, as by the meanest subject.

Even

Even the Minister himself, in consequence of this *inalienability* in the Executive Authority, is equally interested with his fellow-citizens to maintain the laws on which public liberty is founded. He knows, in the midst of his schemes for enjoying or retaining his authority, that a Court-intrigue, or a caprice, may at every instant confound him with the multitude; and the rancour of a successor, long kept out, send him to linger in the same jail which his temporary passions might tempt him to prepare for others.

In consequence of this disposition of things, Great Men therefore are made to join in a common cause with the People for restraining the excesses of the Governing Power; and, which is no less essential to the public welfare, they are also, from the same cause, compelled to restrain the excess of their own private power or influence; and a general spirit of justice is thus diffused through all parts of the State.

The wealthy Commoner, the Representative of the People, the potent Peer, always having before their eyes the view of a formidable power, of a power from the attempts of which they have only the shield of the laws to protect them, and which would, in the issue, retaliate an hundred fold upon them their acts of violence, are compelled, both to wish only for equitable laws, and to observe them with a scrupulous exactness.

Let then the People dread, (it is necessary to the preservation of their liberty) but let them never entirely cease to love the Throne, that sole and indivisible seat of all the active powers in the State.

Let them know that it is that, which by lending an immense strength to the arm of Justice, has enabled her to bring to account as well the most powerful, as the meanest offender;—which has suppressed, and, if I may so express myself, weeded out all those tyrannies, sometimes confederated with, and sometimes adverse to, each other, which incessantly tend to grow up in the middle of civil societies, and are the more terrible, in proportion as they feel themselves to be less firmly established.

Let them know that it is that, which, by making all honours and places depend on the will of one Man, has confined within private walls those projects, the pursuit of which, in former times, shook the foundation of whole States;—has changed into intrigues the conflicts, the out-

rages of ambition ; and that those contentions which, in the present times, afford them only matter of amusement, are the Volcanos which set in flames the antient Commonwealths.

That it is that, which, leaving to the rich no other security for his palace, than that which the peasant has for his cottage, has united his cause to that of the latter ;—the cause of the powerful to that of the helpless ;—the cause of the Man of extensive influence and connections, to that of him who is without friends.

It is the Throne above all, it is this jealous power which makes the People sure that its Representatives never will be any thing more than its Representatives ; and it is the ever-subsisting Carthage which vouches to it for the duration of their virtue.

As a conclusion to this subject, I shall take notice of an advantage peculiar to the English Government, and which, more than any other we could mention, must contribute to its duration. All the political passions of Mankind, if we attend to it, are satisfied and provided for in the English Government ; and whether we look at the Monarchical, or the Aristocratical, or the Democratical part of it, we find all those powers already settled in it in a regular manner, which have an unavoidable tendency to arise at one time or other in all human Societies.

If we could, for an instant, suppose that the English form of Government, instead of having been the effect of a lucky concurrence of fortunate circumstances, had been established from a settled plan by a Man who had discovered beforehand and by reasoning, all those advantages resulting from it which we now perceive from experience, and had undertaken to point them out to other men capable of judging of what he said to them, the following is, no doubt, the manner in which he would have spoken to them.

“ Nothing is more chimerical,” he would have said, “ than a state of either total Equality or total Liberty amongst Mankind. In all societies of Men, some Power will necessarily arise. This power, after gradually becoming confined to a smaller number of persons, will, by a like necessity, at last fall into the hands of a single Leader ; and these two effects (of which you may see constant examples in history) flowing from the ambition of one
part

part of Mankind, and from the various affections and passions of the other, are absolutely unavoidable.

“ Let us, therefore, admit this evil at once, since it is impossible to avoid it. Let us, of ourselves, establish a Chief among us, since we must, some time or other, submit to one : we shall by this means effectually prevent the conflicts that would arise among the competitors for that station. But let us, above all, establish him single ; lest, after successively raising himself on the ruins of his Rivals, he should finally establish himself, whether we will or not, and thro’ a train of the most disadvantageous events.

“ Let us even give him every thing we can possibly give without endangering our security. Let us call him our Sovereign ; let us make him consider the State as being his own patrimony ; let us grant him, in short, such personal privileges as none of us can ever hope to rival him in, and we shall find that what we were at first inclined to consider as a great evil, will be in reality a source of advantages to the community—we shall be the better able to set bounds to that Power which we shall have thus ascertained and fixed in one place : we shall have the more interested the Man whom we shall have put in possession of so many advantages, in the faithful discharge of his duty ; and we shall have thus procured for each of us, a powerful protector at home, and for the whole Community a defender against foreign enemies, superior to all possible temptation of betraying his Country.

“ You may also have observed,” he would continue, “ that in all States there naturally arises around the person, or persons, who are invested with the public power, a class of Men who, without having any actual share in that power, yet partake of its lustre ; who, pretending to be distinguished from the rest of the Community, do, from that very circumstance, become distinguished from them : and this distinction, though only matter of opinion, and at first thus surreptitiously obtained, yet becomes at last the source of very grievous effects.

“ Let us therefore regulate this evil, which we cannot entirely prevent. Let us establish this class of Men, who would otherwise grow up among us without our knowledge, and gradually acquire the most pernicious privileges : let us grant them distinctions that are visible and clearly ascertained : their nature will, by this means, be the better understood, and they will of course
be

be much less likely to become dangerous. By this means also, we shall preclude all other persons from the hopes of usurping them. As to pretend to distinctions can thenceforward be no longer a title to obtain them, every one who shall not be expressly included in their number, must continue to confess himself one of the People; and just as we said before, let us choose ourselves one Master that we may not have fifty, so let us again say on this occasion, let us establish three hundred Lords, that we may not have ten thousand Nobles.

“ Besides, our pride will better reconcile itself to a superiority which it will no longer think of disputing. Nay, as they will themselves see us to be beforehand in acknowledging it, they will think themselves under no necessity of being insolent to furnish us a proof of it. Secure as to their privileges, all violent measures on their part for maintaining, and at last perhaps extending them, will be prevented: they will never combine together with any degree of vehemence, but when they really have cause to think themselves in danger: and by having made them indisputably great men, we shall have a chance of often seeing them behave like modest and virtuous Citizens.

“ In fine, by being united in a regular Assembly, they will form an intermediate Body in the State, that is to say, a very useful part of the Government.

“ It is also necessary,” our Lawgiver would further add, “ that we, the People, should have an influence upon the Government; it is necessary for our own security; it is no less necessary for the security of the Government itself. But experience must have taught you, at the same time, that a great body of men cannot act; without being, tho’ they are not aware of it, the instruments of the designs of a small number of persons; and that the power of the People is never any thing but the power of a few Leaders, who (though it may be impossible to tell when, or how) have found means to secure to themselves the direction of its exercise.

“ Let us, therefore, be also beforehand with this other inconvenience. Let us effect openly what would, otherwise, take place in secret. Let us intrust our power, before it be taken from us by address. Those whom we shall have expressly made the depositaries of it, being freed from any anxious care about supporting themselves, will have no object but to render it useful. They will stand in

awe

awe of us the more, because they will know that they have not imposed upon us ; and instead of a small number of Leaders who would imagine they derive their whole importance from their own dexterity, we shall have express and acknowledged Representatives, who will be accountable to us for the evils of the State.

“ But above all, by forming our Government of a small number of persons, we shall prevent any disorder that may take place in it, from ever becoming dangerously extensive. Nay more, we shall render it capable of inestimable combinations and resources, which would be utterly impossible in that Government of All, which never can be any thing but uproar and confusion.

“ In short, by expressly divesting ourselves of a power of which we should, at best, have only an apparent enjoyment, we shall be entitled to make conditions for ourselves : we will insist that our liberty be augmented : we will, above all, reserve to ourselves the right of watching and censuring that Administration which will have been established only by our own consent. We shall the better see its defects, because we shall be only spectators of it : we shall correct them the better, because we shall be independent of it *.”

The English Constitution being founded upon such principles as those we have just described, no true comparison can be made between it and the Governments of any other States ; and since it evidently insures, not only the liberty, but the general satisfaction in all respects, of those who are subject to it, in a much greater degree than any other Government ever did, this consideration alone affords sufficient ground to conclude without looking further, that it is also much more likely to be preserved from ruin.

And indeed we may observe the remarkable manner in which it has been maintained in the midst of such general commotions as seemed unavoidably to prepare its destruction. It rose again, we see, after the wars between

* He might have added, “As we will not seek to counteract nature, but rather to follow it, we shall be able to procure ourselves a mild Legislation. Let us not be without cause afraid of the power of one Man : we shall have no need either of a Tarpeian Rock, or of a Council of Ten. Having expressly allowed to the People a liberty to inquire into the conduct of Government, and to endeavour to correct it, we shall need neither State-prisons, nor secret Informers.”

Henry the Third and his Barons ; after the usurpation of Henry the Fourth ; and after the long, and bloody quarrels between the Houses of York and Lancaster. Nay, though totally destroyed in appearance after the fall of Charles the First, and though the greatest efforts had been made to establish another form of Government in its stead, yet no sooner was Charles the Second called over, than the English Constitution was re-established upon all its antient foundations.

However, as what has not happened at one time may happen at another, future Revolutions (events which no form of Government can totally prevent) may perhaps, end in a different manner from that in which past ones have terminated. Temporary prepossessions of the people may be made use of, to make them concur in doing what will prove afterwards the ruin of their own liberty. Plans of apparent improvement in the Constitution, forwarded by Men who shall proceed without a due knowledge of the true principles and foundations of Government, may produce effects quite contrary to those which were intended, and in reality prepare its ruin *. The Crown, on the other hand, may, by the acquisition of foreign dominions, acquire a fatal independency on the People : and if, without entering into any farther particulars on this subject, I were required to point out the principal events which would, if they were ever to happen, prove immediately the ruin of the English Government, I would answer, the English Government will be no more, either when the Crown shall become independent of the Nation for its

* Instead of looking for the principles of Politics in their true sources, that is to say, in the nature of the affections of Mankind, and of those secret ties by which they are united together in a state of Society, Men have treated that science in the same manner as they did Natural Philosophy in the time of Aristotle, continually recurring to occult causes and principles, from which no useful consequence could be drawn. Thus, in order to ground particular assertions, they have much used the word Constitution in a personal sense, *the Constitution loves, the Constitution forbids*, and the like. At other times, they have had recourse to *Luxury*, in order to explain certain events ; and at others, to a still more occult cause, which they have called *Corruption* ; and abundance of comparisons drawn from the human Body have been also used for the same purposes. Nor is it only the obscurity of the writings of Politicians, and the impossibility of applying their speculative Doctrines to practical uses, that proves that some peculiar and uncommon difficulties attend the investigation of political truths ; the singular perplexity which Men in general, even the ablest, labour under when they attempt to discuss abstract questions in politics, also justifies this observation, and proves that the true first principles of this Science, whatever they are, lie deep in both the human heart and understanding.

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supplies, or when the Representatives of the People shall begin to share in the Executive Authority *.

* And if at any time, any dangerous changes were to take place in the English Constitution, the pernicious tendency of which the people were not able at first to discover, restrictions on the Liberty of the Press, and on the power of Juries, will give them the first information.

MR. JUSTICE BULLER'S CHARGE
TO THE
GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF YORK,
AT THE LENT ASSIZES IN 1793.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY,

NOTHING is more common in life than to hear those who advance in years lament the wickedness of the age in which they live, and to add, that it was not so in their younger days.

If the idea be well founded, that the world is gradually growing worse and worse, to be sure it affords but a melancholy prospect when we contemplate the remnant of our own days, or the lot of those who are to come after us. But it will require a great deal of argument and much new light before I shall be induced to subscribe in general to that opinion, or to think now and at all times there have not prevailed the same ingenuousness and the same hypocrisy—the same integrity and the same craft—the same benevolence and the same malignity—the same virtue and the same iniquity; though, perhaps, in recent times, we may have found that something of foreign growth, and ungenial to a British breast, has crept in, or been attempted to be imposed upon the minds of the uninformed and deluded part of our countrymen.

The manners, the virtues, and the vices of the Romans have been pretty faithfully transmitted to us by history; and if we examine them, we shall find no reason to bewail the state of man as being since more fallen or degraded.

That different societies of men, and even whole nations have been subject, at different periods, to shocks and convulsions, and sometimes have been totally subverted and destroyed, is undoubtedly true; and whether those catastrophes have proceeded on the ground that *Jupiter quos vult perdere prius dementat*, from the ambitious and unbounded views of States, or from the artifices of wicked and aspiring individuals, who mean to return to the same, or a worse state than that from which they set
out,

out, and wade through an ocean of blood in order to put one man in the place of another, are matters too copious for inquiry now.

But it has been reserved for these days, that one Nation should be audacious enough to say to another, “ You shall take our worthless paper for your solid property, and you shall receive every miscreant whom we choose to send amongst you for the purpose of subverting your Constitution, or we will go to war with you.”

Such conduct is as unjust as it is new and intolerable to a British ear; and it is avowing, without mask or disguise, the determined resolution, that either by treachery or by war one country shall fall if another can effect it.

Whatever internal differences in opinion may prevail amongst us on subjects which the freedom of our Constitution allows us to discuss, and which naturally employ our thoughts when we are free from foreign troubles, the time is now arrived when such dissensions should be lulled to rest, and when every hand and heart should unite in support of that liberty and freedom which our forefathers by long and unwearied labours have established in this happy Country, in opposition to that cruel and arbitrary system of tyranny which others may wish to introduce under the falsely-assumed name of Liberty.

The massacring of thousands of fellow-subjects, and even of the sacred and untainted person of the Sovereign, in cold blood, the visiting of neighbours under the pretence of friendship and assistance, and the seizing by force, and selling the property which they possessed, *commanding* how in future they shall be governed, and *compelling* the inhabitants to submit to those commands, and the discovery that it may be a crime for a man to have two coats, tho’ he has earned them both by his own honest labour and industry, are very heterogeneous to the ideas of true English Liberty; and I trust in God that not one Englishman can be found who would be willing to hazard the solid and permanent advantages which he enjoyed, for a vain and illusory phantom, which can only end in anarchy, in tyranny, and oppression; which holds out to its votaries that they must expect distress, and prepare themselves for every species of want; and by which it is at last plainly avowed, that the English must be crushed, and others eat the bread out of their mouths, or starve.

That Country alone can boast of true Liberty which is governed by certain and by equal Laws, which suffer no
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man to invade the person or the property of another, but secure alike to all that which their ancestors have collected, or their own industry acquired.

Such is the country in which we live; a country which, as well as our Constitution, has for centuries past been the object both of the envy and admiration of the whole world.

Pliny, who wrote about the Christian *Æra*, speaking of these Islands, broke into a rapture and enthusiasm, and addressing himself to them exclaimed, "O Thou most blessed and fortunate of all countries! how deservedly has Nature with all the bounties of Heaven and Earth endued thee! Thy ever-fruitful womb not closed with ice, or dissolved by the raging star; where Ceres and Bacchus are perpetual twins. Thy woods are not the harbour of devouring beasts, nor thy continual verdure the ambush of serpents; but the food of innumerable herds and flocks, presenting thee, their shepherdess, with distended dugs, or golden fleeces. The wings of the night involve thee not in the horrors of darkness, but have still some white feather; and thy day is that, for which we esteem life the longest."

Surely our country is not now less embellished, less fertile, or less desirable than it was at that distant period. It has not only kept pace with other parts of the known globe, but it has surpassed them in science, in commerce, and in industry."

But it is not every mind which can bear prosperity; and perhaps if we search into the condition of those who have growled discontent in late times, we shall find that it is bottomed in abundance, and not in want. Let those who have complained compare their present situations with what were their own or their equals thirty years ago, and see whether in every instance they have not got the advantage. Above all, let every man examine whether (provided he does not prevent it by idleness, inattention, and dissipation) he has not the means of procuring health, peace, and competence for himself and his family. If he has them, he has all that can constitute happiness in this world. If he might have them, but neglects to improve them, the fault is his, and he must thank himself alone. No blame is to be imputed to his lot in life, or to the Laws by which he is bound to govern his actions. If by misconduct he makes himself obnoxious to the Laws, out of justice to the innocent and well-deserving, the Laws will,

will, and ought to fall heavy on him ; for it is a very old observation, that “ Wise Laws, duly executed, prevent much evil.”

If any cases should be brought before you, in which it shall appear that persons of any description, in defiance of their natural or temporary allegiance, and with ingratitude for the advantages which they derive from living under a free and mild Government, have dared to execrate either the King or the Constitution, or have exulted in the hope of annihilating them, you, I am sure, will not be wanting in your duty to make them amenable to the laws of our country ; but which laws even they will experience the mildness of, and find that they do not admit of that extent of punishment which, to ordinary understandings, might seem due to their crimes ; for those who without reason are discontented with the Constitution under which they live, do not deserve the indulgence of being suffered to remain any longer Members of it. Let them go to other climates in search of what they may suppose will constitute their happiness ; and then, short experience, pressing want, lawless or uncontrouled power, the absence even of the means of obtaining a comfortable livelihood, or perhaps an indiscriminate butchery or assassination, if they survive it, will soon convince them that the fault is wholly in the restless and turbulent contents of their own hearts ; and for the remainder of their lives they will worthily be left to chew the cud of repentance, and to lament that by their crimes they have forfeited the ease, the comfort, and competence, the security and the freedom which England alone can afford.

If there should be a temporary stagnation in trade, or if there should be a check to that amazing and formerly unknown flourishing state in which this Nation has for some years past found itself, we all know that we owe it solely to the boundless ambition, the ferocious tyranny, and the implacable rancour of our constant rival, and almost perpetual enemy.

To avert those evils, we may with confidence look up to the wisdom and the vigilance of our most gracious Sovereign ; and whatever temporary inconvenience we may suffer, let us not forget that we are Englishmen ; let us glory in the appellation ; and, by our conduct, announce to all the world, that we revere our King, and will defend our Constitution.

PUBLICATIONS

Printed by Order of

THE SOCIETY

FOR PRESERVING

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

NUMBER IX.

CONTAINING

The Earl of Radnor's Charge to the Grand Jury of the County of Berks—Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform, by Soame Jenyns, Esq.—Additional Proof of the Excellence of the English Constitution, by W. Mitford, Esq.—Cautions against Reformers, by Lord Bolingbroke.

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE EARL OF RADNOR'S CHARGE

TO THE

GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF BERKS

JANUARY 15, 1793.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

WHEN last I had the honour of addressing the County from this Chair, I found the Juries so intelligent, so well informed of their duty, and, as far as I could judge, so desirous of performing it, that in ordinary situations of the Country, I should probably now have contented myself with a short exhortation to you, to persevere in the example set you by your predecessors:—But circumstances so unusual and remarkable have happened in the course of the last year, and more particularly of late, that I think I owe it to my Country, whose Peace and Happiness may materially depend upon the proceedings of this and other Courts of Justice; I owe it to my Sovereign, by whose authority I am impowered to address you at all, and by whom I am specially required to direct your attention this day to the Point on which I mean principally to detain you; I

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owe

owe it to this Bench of Magistrates, who have a right to expect from their Chairman, the exertion of all the abilities he has on such an occasion; I owe it to myself as a Magistrate, as a Member of the Legislature, as a man of some property, as the father of a family, and as an Englishman; but more especially I owe it to you, who, from the time of taking your oath, to the moment when you shall be discharged, are invested with a great Inquisitorial Power, which I will explain more fully to you presently; I say I owe it to these several relations, and in these several capacities, to speak to you in the best manner I am able, upon a subject extremely interesting to our Country in general, extremely interesting to every individual in it.

I have told you, that you are entrusted with a great power, and a very great power you will see it is, when I remind you, that there is not a single individual upon earth, who can have committed any crime within this County, whom your indictment will not put upon his trial. Now all just power presupposes correspondent duties, and therefore as the Law has invested you with power, it expects from you vigilance, integrity, and resolution:—Vigilance to discover crimes, integrity to select without personal enmity those whom you believe guilty of them, and resolution to put their conduct, be they whom they may, in the way of examination, and, if guilty, in the way of punishment:—And you are, by the very words of your oath, not to confine your attention to what is brought before you by any prosecutor, but to whatever also is given you in charge, or shall fall within your own knowledge, that is in any degree inconsistent with the public tranquillity, or contrary to the happiness or security of the kingdom.

Now, Gentlemen, *the King is the first Magistrate of the Country, and the preservation of the public peace is his first duty*, and on that account you will probably recollect, that his Majesty's endeavours were employed last Spring in suppressing certain dangerous and seditious Publications, which had been dispersed with a view to excite discontents, tumults, and disorders in this Realm.

These endeavours of the King appeared to be completely answered, by the general approbation with which his Royal Proclamation to this effect was received, and acknowledged by addresses, as well from both Houses of Parliament, as from this and every other part of the Kingdom;

dom; but I am sorry to add, that his Majesty has lately found it necessary to say, and to direct me to tell you from this Chair in his Name; that notwithstanding these endeavours, the circulation and dispersion of the said writings, and others of a similar tendency, have lately been renewed with much activity.

Now, Gentlemen; *the Government of a Country ought to secure to the individuals of it Liberty, Life and Property.*—Try our Government by this rule; and let us see if it ought to be respected:

No one here can lose his *Liberty* without such a reason as justifies the forfeiture.—There are three modes of forfeiting one's liberty—for debt—upon suspicion of a crime—and for punishment of a crime. The first, I believe, will be readily admitted to be necessary in a commercial Country—but the tenderness of our law has taken care in very many cases, that the imprisonment shall be only temporary; and in point of fact and experience, where the debtor has subsequently to his confinement appeared to act conscientiously, it is seldom of long duration. I believe it perfectly true, that the honest creditor is much oftener, and to a greater degree a sufferer, being quite innocent, than the debtor, who in very few possible cases is not in some degree at least guilty.

The second mode is when a person is charged with a crime.—This I allow is hard, but it is unavoidable, unless you can suppose a competent court shall always be at hand, and sitting, whenever the suspicion of a crime attaches.—But this hardship is softened again by the humanity of our Laws, as much as the nature of things admits: When the prisoner has an idea that the charge is such as not to warrant the commitment, the writ of Habeas Corpus, to which he is entitled, will enable him in Term time to have judgment upon that point, of whichever Court; and out of Term time, of whichever Judge; he prefers. And again, when the crime is not of an atrocious complexion, or not beyond all doubt truly charged upon the prisoner, he is admissible to bail, which the law has likewise provided shall not be excessive.

The third mode, namely confinement for crimes after conviction, no one can object to, provided it be not unreasonably long.

The second great point, which it is the essence and duty of Government to secure, is the *lives* of individuals:—

should be ashamed to speak of this Government as securing safety to our persons from open murder and assassination. Among lawless villains only do such things ever happen. But I bespeak your attention to the legal security which every man in this country has, whose life is put into jeopardy by legal process for any capital offence, and I here trust you will always recollect with gratitude and pride, (as I do assure you I never mention without enthusiasm) the invaluable *institution of Juries*; an institution most merciful in its motive, most just in its operation, and most beneficial in its effect; an institution confirmed and endeared to us by uninterrupted usage, during a period of many hundred years; an institution which prevents any man's being put upon trial for his life, till twelve men shall, upon their oath, have thought his prosecutor has such grounds for charging him, as to adopt the accusation themselves, and which will not allow him to be guilty, till twelve other men, by whose verdict he has consented to abide (unless he obstinately refuses all trial, and then of course, he is adjudged to be guilty), shall, under equal obligation, have unanimously found him so.

The third point we have a right to expect from the Laws of our Country, is security to our *property*. I believe I may with confidence appeal to all who hear me, whether property is here secured or not.—Does not every individual enjoy his own, without the smallest apprehension of its being taken from him? Violence and robbery I must take no account of: Violence and robbery, more or less, there ever were, and ever will be; but *the Laws are ready to resist every injury: The Courts of Justice are open; and the Magistrates attentive to assist every person indifferently, who is wronged.*

But notwithstanding we have these securities in a manner more remarkable than any country or any time ever experienced, our Constitution and our Laws have been egregiously abused, the superior orders of society collectively insulted, and the most seditious propositions made openly and without reserve. I do not assert that every thing is perfect in the British Constitution, *though I believe it nearly so.* The British Constitution is the Work of human hands, and there is nothing of that fabrication which I dare to assert is absolutely perfect. But it is represented by the writers to whom I have alluded, as a heap of imper-
every

fections, as combining all possible defects, as containing every possible injustice, as authorizing all possible oppressions:—and the great proof of these assertions is, that some of us are rich, and some are poor. Does it not consist with common sense, that a community must be so? How is the rich man to live without the poor? How is the poor to live without the rich? The Scriptures themselves observe, that “The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.” You might as well desire all men to be equally tall, or equally strong, as expect them equally rich. If they could once be made so, the moment they were equal, there would immediately arise a struggle for superiority, which talents or strength must undoubtedly soon effect, and consequently the inequality would begin again; and yet there are people senseless or wicked enough to propagate notions of Equality, and by disturbing the public with “false alarms of imaginary evils, and foolish conceits of imaginary good,” endeavour to destroy all subordination. *But a disparity of condition I hold to be universally necessary*, for it universally exists. It is discoverable throughout all nature. Without it there can evidently be no excellence in civil life: there can be no trade, no skill in any manufacture, no pre-eminence in any science. Success in any of these branches is owing to industry; the motive of that industry is a struggle to rise to eminence, and eminence is nothing but elevation above one’s neighbour. In political life, the distinctions that obtain in this country are called honours. I believe them to be attended with advantages; they are objects of fair and laudable ambition, and incentives to great and distinguished conduct; and I believe they are attended with no inconveniences, *for they raise no man to a capacity of doing harm*. They are besides diversified into so many forms that the public is familiarized to marks of inequality, without their creating, for the most part, either pride in those who have them, or envy in those who have them not. The different degrees approach so nearly to the ranks above them, as to remove from the latter all appearance of offensive superiority, and are so imperceptibly blended with those below them, as to harmonize into one congenial and concordant mass. There is, however, one description of persons whom I must particularize, who compose a separate branch of our Legislature

and our Government, who on that account possess a stated and more decided rank; but when I say they are distinguished from the great body of the people (and I hope I may be allowed to say it without vanity) by some few privileges, I am sure I may add without fear of contradiction, and upon the fullest conviction, that they have a common feeling, a common interest with the people at large; a feeling and an interest perfectly inseparable from the general welfare. But it is childish and trifling to object the inequalities of rank, and the offensiveness of names or titles, unless there be some grievance which they occasion, some great and notorious mischief which they necessarily and inevitably entail upon the public. But in fact are there any such grievances, or mischiefs? There are not, and for this plain and simple reason, *Because there is a species of Equality, the only true, rational or practicable Equality, the Equality of the Law; by which it is notorious, that every man does alike obtain security in the possession of that property, which his birth, his industry, or his talents have procured to him, and by which every man is alike subjected to punishment for deviation from his duty, or infringement upon the rights of others.*

It is an obvious objection to us who are seated on this Bench, that we are interested in maintaining the Distinctions of Rank and Fortune. It is an objection of an invidious kind, but it is one to which we ought and are able and willing to give a direct and sufficient answer. True, we are personally interested in maintaining them, but with respect to that of Fortune, all the members of every great community whatever are likewise interested, for it is evident that no community can have either happiness or respectability (if indeed it can exist) unless some members of it have that distinction; and, with respect to Difference of Rank, all the inhabitants of this kingdom are interested in the maintenance of it, for it is essential and fundamental to our form of Government, and *it remains to be proved that any Government in the world is, or ever was, comparable to ours.*

We say that the persons of property in this country are in general the properest persons, from habits of life, from knowledge of the world, from education, from independence of situation, from opportunities of improvement which in the inferior ranks is less obtainable, to occupy the superior stations in it; and it remains to be proved, either that the principal persons are the worst in the country, or that the inferior orders of the community

nity would be, in any one view of the case, benefited by the substitution of their equals in condition into our seats.

We say that the laws of this country are most equitable, most impartial, most benevolent; that they are executed with mercy and integrity; that the irregularities of power are more checked, and the weakness of innocence more befriended, here than in any country under heaven; and

We say that there is not either by law or in actual experience any exclusion, even from the most splendid situations, of any person who has merit to justify his promotion.

Gentlemen, I have detained you a great while, but there is one objection made against the Prosecution of Writings, which it is my duty to obviate. It is said, that if they are prosecuted, the Liberty of the Press is destroyed. Now as I conceive the Liberty of the Press and the Institution of Juries are the two main springs on which our public happiness depends; if the Liberty of the Press be endangered by such prosecutions, I am not only counteracting one of the most determined prepossessions of my own mind, but am accessory to a very grievous calamity. But *no Government ever did, and no wise Government ever can, or will suffer itself to be stigmatized and vilified with impunity.* The Freedom of the Press will, as I take it, justify a discussion of the Principles of our Constitution. It will allow an argumentative enquiry into the fabric of our Government. It will permit an author to question the good sense of any given part of it, and authorize him to draw his conclusion as to the wisdom and expediency of any of our establishments; but the style must not be indecent, the language must not be inflammatory; the propositions must not be seditious, the inference must not encourage disobedience or resistance to the laws. These conditions are “ necessary for the Preservation of Peace, Good Order, Government, and Religion, the joint and only foundation of civil Liberty. The will therefore and opinion of the individual are left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment;” *and it is to a Jury that resort must be had to ascertain that abuse.*

The Pamphlet, the most criminal perhaps of those alluded to by the Royal Proclamation, has been submitted to this investigation; and, *as I believe is always the case when such a matter is left to the consciences of an informed Jury,* they marked the difference between a Fair Discussion and an Inflammatory Libel, and found the defendant guilty—I

had the pleasure myself of hearing that verdict given; and the publication was so palpably criminal that the Jury would not suffer the Attorney General, on the part of the Crown, to make any reply.

There is still another point which I think it necessary to mention, and that is the idea that the doctrines which I have been combating meet with little support; and though lately making a considerable noise, are already almost forgotten. The verdict I have just mentioned, the determination of Government to put the law in execution, and to call its various powers into exercise, the good sense of the country in discovering the baneful tendency of these tenets, and their spirit in associating so generally as they have done to counteract them, have, I allow, within the last few weeks, made the matter appear in a very different light; but you must remember that the enemies of our public happiness have a deep game to play; they may find it necessary and expedient to conceal themselves a little, and let their principles and their plans be unavowed for the present, and *till we are off our guard*. You therefore who are engaged in an office of active duty, will not, if you agree with me in what I have said, be so contented. You will from respect for decency and public order, from recollection of your oaths, diligently enquire after such persons as by writing, printing, publishing, or advisedly speaking within this County, may have been raising discontent, exciting sedition, or violating or encouraging others to violate the King's peace; and if you find such, prefer against them a suitable indictment. Should there happily be none such, I trust you will then take notice of this Charge in a manner, which this Court will, I am sure, with much greater pleasure receive, by making presentment of the general concurrence of your countrymen in the principles of Loyalty to the King, of Attachment to the Constitution, and of Obedience to the Laws. You owe it to yourselves as Englishmen, who enjoy the benefits of the Law; as Grand Jurymen, who have solemnly sworn to enforce that Law; I say, you owe it to yourselves to shew your attention in one or the other of these ways to the call of your Sovereign upon this occasion, and thereby vindicate the justice of his Government, support the institutions of your country, and rescue the British Constitution from the injurious aspersions of malevolence and falsehood.

T H O U G H T S ON A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

By SOAME JENYNS, Esq.

THE great object of a Parliamentary Reform I take to be this, to procure a Parliament totally independent on the Crown and its Ministers ; in which no Member shall be intimidated by power, seduced by hopes, or corrupted by interest: this seems at present to be the chief pursuit of all our political doctors; the grand specific which alone can cure all our national disorders, and restore our broken Constitution to its original vigour.

On this important subject two questions offer themselves for our consideration ; first, What are the most likely means to obtain such a Parliament?—and, secondly, What would be the effect of it if obtained?

For the first, innumerable have been the schemes presented to the public by real and pretended patriots, that is, by those who have more honesty than sense, and those who have more sense than honesty. Some have been for shortening the duration of Parliaments to three, and some to one year: some have recommended voting by ballot, as the most effectual method to put an end to bribery; others have disapproved it, as inconsistent with that open avowal which ought to accompany every act of a British freeman; some have proposed to annihilate all the small and corrupt boroughs, and to add the same number of Representatives which they now send to the several counties: some to add to the counties, and not disfranchise the boroughs; others to abolish the boroughs, without any addition to the counties: some to enlarge, and some to diminish the qualifications of electors; and others to require no qualification at all, but to allow every man a vote, who is not disqualified by nature, for want of reason; or by law, for the commission of some crime: but as very few have agreed in any one of these propositions, and no one has been able to form any satisfactory plan out of them all, I shall not here enter into any discussion of their merits, or make any comparison between them; but shall only say, that of all these plans, that of giving a right of voting universally, together
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with annual elections, appears to be the most uniform, consistent, and effectual: it has indeed one capital defect, which is, that it is absolutely and utterly impracticable; but I do not mention this as an objection, so far from it, that I think it is its chief excellence, and is what induces me to prefer it to all the rest.

To be convinced of the impracticability of this scheme, let us but figure to ourselves multitudes of all descriptions and denominations called out to exercise their right of voting, inflamed by contest and intoxicated by liquor; labourers and manufacturers of every kind, above and under ground; weavers from their looms, and miners from tinnersies and coal-pits; sailors from their ships, and soldiers from their quarters;—to whom we must add, thousands of thieves, smugglers, rogues, vagabonds, and vagrants: I say, let us figure to ourselves all these respectable electors let loose in one day throughout every part of the kingdom, and such a scene of confusion, of drunkenness and riot, of rapine, murder, and conflagration, will present itself, as must shock us with horror, even in imagination.

Nor would it be possible to carry on, or ever to conclude elections in which the voters are so innumerable, and consequently so unknown. They must be polled in one of these two ways; they must either be admitted only to vote in the parishes to which they belong, or permitted to be polled in whatever place they happened, or choose to be at the time of the election: should the first of these methods be adopted, the acceptance or rejection of every vote might be attended with the trial of a settlement, and Counsel learned in the law be heard on both sides: if the latter, crowds so numerous, and so unknown to the Candidates, and all whom they could employ to poll them, would press into every place, where money and liquor flowed in the greatest abundance, that the chief part of them might vote in ten different places, or ten times in the same place undiscovered; and if these elections were annual, one could not be finished before the other began.

Another reason which persuades me that this scheme is impracticable is, that I cannot foresee any class of men whose interest or inclination would not induce them to oppose it: the landed gentleman would not much approve that every pauper, gypsy, vagrant, and least of all
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every poacher, should enjoy as great a share in the Legislature as himself; the City of London will never consent that every drayman, hackney-coachman, and chimney-sweeper, should be vested with as good a vote as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, nor the Livery be desirous of admitting so numerous an addition to their respectable fraternity; the Corporations throughout the kingdom will never submit to have their consequence annihilated by a participation of their privileges with so innumerable a multitude; nor do I think that very multitude, or the people at large, would be extremely zealous to support it. At first, indeed, when they are told, that they shall all be Legislators, obliged to obey no laws but of their own making, nor pay any taxes but of their own imposing, and that every one of them shall have as good a vote for a Parliament-man as the Squire or the Parson, and recollect that this vote has ever been as good as ready money; they will, perhaps, be a little elated and delighted with their new acquisition; but when they are better informed, and understand, that the intent of this scheme is to prevent all bribery and corruption, and will preclude them from receiving one shilling or one dram of gin for their votes, they will reject this useless donation with contempt; and there will not be a tinker who will not choose rather to mend a kettle for sixpence than the Constitution for nothing, nor a labourer who will not make faggots rather than laws, nor a pickpocket who will not prefer the exercise of his profession at an election to giving his vote.

But was this scheme of universal representation, or any other of the proposed plans of reformation practicable, and pursued, certain I am that they would not in the least contribute to the great end, which is the formation of an independent Parliament; because reason does not persuade me, that electors the most ignorant and profligate, the most necessitous and venal, would return Members more incorrupt than the present; nor does experience teach me, that ten or twenty constituents would chuse Representatives less able or less honest than ten or twenty thousand. I am firmly convinced, both by reason and long experience, that no alteration in the mode of election, or in the electors themselves, would produce any change in the elected; in them lies the source of the evil, which no external application can approach:

approach: whether they are chosen by a greater or a less number, by counties or boroughs, by the rich or by the poor, by ballot or by audible voices, the Parliament, when assembled, will be just the same; different modes of election may make some difference in the trouble and expence of the Candidates, and may differently affect the morals of the people, and the peace of the country, but will make no difference in the representative body when brought together, and it is of little signification by what means they come there: the majority of any Legislative Assembly, consisting of five hundred and fifty Members, in the same circumstances and situation, will infallibly act in the same manner; if their situation differ, their proceedings will differ with them. In the weakness of infant States, and in perilous times, they will be more intent on the safety of the community, because their own is immediately included in it; but when the danger is removed, they will be more influenced by the views of interest and ambition, they will split into factions and parties, and list under contending leaders, and sometimes prefer their interest or their own to that of their country. Their corruption will always increase in proportion to their power, because they have more to sell, and are more necessary to be bought. Those who cannot make a shift with such a Parliament, must have none, because it is impossible for any mode of election, or species of electors, to choose a better, unless they could make men as well as Members.

Let us now see what would be the effects of this independent Parliament, if obtained. By an independent Parliament, in the language of the present times, is to be understood a Parliament in which the majority would oppose any Administration: now no arguments are necessary to prove, that with such a Parliament no public business whatever could be transacted, nor any Government subsist. But it will be said, this is not what is wished for, but one in which the Members shall be always ready to support the measures of Ministers when right, and to resist them when wrong, unawed and uninfluenced, and guided only by the dictates of their own judgment and conscience. This indeed is what every wise man would desire, but no wise man will expect to see, as no such assembly, if numerous, ever existed in this or in any country, from the beginning of the world to the

the present hour, nor ever can, unless mankind were melted down, and run in a new mould: as they are now formed, in every numerous assembly there must be some who have no judgment, and others who have no conscience, and some who have neither: take away self-interest, and all these will have no star to steer by, but must sail without a compass, just as the gales of favour or resentment, of popular absurdity or their own, shall direct them; a Minister therefore must be possessed of some attractive influence to enable him to draw together these discordant particles, and unite them in a firm and solid majority, without which he can pursue no measures of public utility with steadiness or success. An independent House of Commons is no part of the English Constitution, the excellence of which consists in being composed of three powers, mutually dependent on each other. Of these, if any one was to become independent of the other two, it must engross the whole power to itself, and the form of our Government would be immediately changed. This an independent House of Commons actually performed in the last century, murdered the King, annihilated the Peers, and established the worst kind of democracy that ever existed; and the same confusion would infallibly be repeated, should we ever be so unfortunate as to see another.

A numerous assembly uninfluenced is as much a creature of the imagination, as a griffin or a dragon; the one created by the Poets, the other by ignorant and designing Politicians. Parliaments have ever been influenced, and by that means our Constitution has so long subsisted; but the end and nature of that influence is perpetually misrepresented and misunderstood. They are seldom, very seldom bribed to injure their country, because it is seldom the interest of Ministers to injure it; but the great source of corruption is, that they will not serve it for nothing. Men get into Parliament in pursuit of power, honours, and preferments, and until they obtain them, determine to obstruct all business, and to distress Government; but happily for their country, they are no sooner gratified, than they are equally zealous to promote the one and support the other.

Upon the whole, under the same mode of elections, and under Parliaments not less influenced than the present, this nation has not only subsisted for many years,
but

but arrived at the summit of wealth, honour, power, and dominion, and might still have preserved them, if the means of that influence had been sufficient to satisfy the demands of ambition and the hunger of faction. But even now, if we survey the condition of every country on the globe, and compare it with our own, we shall find abundant reason to be contented ; there are in it some evils, and much good, which is the utmost that any human institution will admit of. We have, indeed, too much oratory, too much liberty, too much debt, and too many taxes ; but then we have plenty, and may have peace, if we please ; we have security to our persons and properties, and excellent laws, justly, though not very cheaply, administered ; we have a Parliament not worse, and a King a great deal better than we deserve ; and therefore I shall conclude with the words of Shakespeare,

“ ’Tis better sure to bear the ills we know,
 “ Than fly to others which we know not of.”

AN ADDITIONAL PROOF OF THE
 E X C E L L E N C E
 OF THE
 ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,
 DEDUCED FROM THE
 HARMONY SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE
 SEVERAL RANKS OF CITIZENS.

[FROM COL. MITFORD'S HISTORY OF GREECE,
 VOL. II. PUBLISHED in 1790.]

PLUTARCH relates of Alcibiades, that when, on his recall from Sicily, he avoided returning to Athens, being asked, “ If he could not trust his country ? ” he replied, “ Yes ; for every thing else ; but in a trial for life, not my mother ; lest by mistake she should put a black ball for a white one.” Whatever authority there may have been for this anecdote, it contains a very just reproof of the
 secret

Athenian mode of giving judgment on life and death, by secret ballot ; which, without preventing corruption, excludes responsibility and covers shame.

But while, under the security of our own admirable Constitution, we wonder at the defective policy of a people whom we find so many causes to admire, it is not a little advantageous for the writer of Grecian history, that circumstances have been occurring, in a nation calling itself the most polished of the most polished age of the world, which render all the atrocious, and before scarcely credible violences of faction among the Greeks, not only probable, but almost make them appear moderate. At the same time it may not be digressing improperly to remark, that as what has been passing in France may tend to illustrate Grecian history, and to exculpate the Grecian character from any innate atrocity, beyond what is common among other nations, there occurs also in Grecian history, what may enable to form a juster estimate of the French character, than a view of the late enormities, compared only with what has at any time passed in our own country, might lead us to conceive : and if the inability of wise and worthy men, such as undoubtedly must exist in France, to hold their just influence among the people, and prevent those disgraceful proceedings, appears itself a disgrace both to themselves and to the nation, Grecian history, and the extant writings of the ablest Grecian politicians, will perhaps furnish their fairest apology.

For, so many men of the brightest talents and highest acquirements, as in Greece turned their thoughts, with the closest attention, to a subject so universally and deeply interesting, not one seems to have been able even to imagine a form of government which might, in a great nation, reconcile the jarring pretensions arising from that variety of rank among men, without which even small societies cannot subsist. Our own writers, through mere familiarity with the object, as foreigners from unacquaintance with it, have very much overlooked what, in importance, is perhaps not inferior to any one circumstance in the singular constitution of our Government. It is not till since the troubles in France began, that a refugee, who has been in situations enabling him to see and compelling him to observe, has discovered, what, but for those troubles, would perhaps never have occurred to his notice ; that, “ nowhere
else

" else in the world such harmony subsists between the
 " several ranks of citizens as in England *.

This harmony is indeed the foundation, the firm foundation, on which the proud superstructure of the British Constitution rests. Ranks vary as much, or perhaps more than elsewhere. But no one rank has that gigantic pre-eminence which can enable it to trample upon its next inferior. In the scale of subordination, the distance from top to bottom is great ; but the gradation is scarcely perceptible and the connection intimate. Each rank is interested in the support of its next superior ; for none are excluded from the hope of rising ; and, of all the various ranks, the highest is most interested in the support of all. We cannot consider without wonder, that an order of things apparently the most natural, never subsisted in any country but our own.

It has not always perhaps been duly recollected by speculative politicians, that, among the ancient Republics, no such order of citizens existed as that which in Paris lately assumed despotic power, and while the representatives of the nation were deliberating on the rights of man, trampled under foot all rights. The functions of that order of citizens were in Athens performed by slaves ; and without keeping this circumstance constantly in mind, we cannot but be liable to the grossest error in applying the rules of antient policy to modern times. Those writers who would infer, that formerly the lower ranks of people in England were not free, because the lowest ranks were actually slaves, attempt a fallacy upon their readers. In treating of Athens, Lacedæmon, or Rome, they would have distinguished, as they ought to do, slaves from citizens. It is unquestionable that, from the Anglo-Saxon conquest downward, the Constitution of this country has been always free : and tho' in unsettled times, and especially under the first Norman Kings, law might be overborne by the violence of accidental power, yet both the law, and the established mode of administering the law, never were otherwise than highly and even singularly favourable to the freedom and property of even the lowest citizens †.

Nor

* Lettre au Roi par M. de Calonne.

† It seems to deserve a notice which I think it has not yet met with, that the Monarchs to whom our Constitution is most indebted, Alfred, Henry II. and Edward I. were conquerors. It is certainly almost

Nor is it, I apprehend, as some political writers have asserted, of no importance to trace the freedom of the Constitution of this country beyond the civil wars of the last century. For the purpose indeed of establishing the right of the British people to freedom, it is utterly unnecessary. But toward a clear comprehension of the Constitution itself, toward a certain knowledge of the broad and deep foundation on which it rests; toward a ready and just perception of the manner in which it may be affected through the various changes to which all human things are liable, and some which we have already seen; extension of dominion, influx of riches, increase of population, increase of revenue, immoderate debt, and the possible reduction of that debt; toward this, an acquaintance with the history of our Constitution, from the earliest times, is of great importance.

If then it is to ourselves important to know the history of our Constitution from earliest times, it will also be not a little important to other nations, if any such there are, who would form a Constitution on the model of ours, or who would improve the Constitution they possess, after our example. Nor will it be less important to those who, without any good foundation to build on, and without any valuable experience within their own country, propose to raise, with the airy materials of theory, a Constitution more perfect than the most perfect that has yet existed upon earth. For want of attention to the breadth and antique firmness of the basis on which our envied and truly enviable Government rests, the singular manner in which the materials of the superstructure are adapted to each other, and how they are held together by their natural fitness to coalesce, the complexion of Europe seems to threaten many new and memorable lessons in politics; lessons for every order that can exist in a State separately, and lessons for nations united. Happy then those, who, gathering wisdom from the sufferings and dangers of others, can avoid the miseries which many will probably feel*.

a most unworthy slander upon those uncommon great men, as well as upon the Parliaments from Edward I. till the time when Fortescue wrote under Henry VI. to assert, as often has been done, that England had no valuable Constitution, and no true freedom, till the opposition to the Stuarts; or till the expulsion of the Stuarts, procured them.

* As M. de Calonne's Letter, above referred to, though printed, was never published, it may not be superfluous to give here, in its original language, the passage where the observation noticed occurs.

"J'ignorois, lorsque j'ai commencé cette lettre, à quel point la division étoit déjà entre la Noblesse et le tiers Etat, dans les différentes provinces de votre royaume: depuis que je l'ai appris, j'en

frémis. Vu la situation où les choses ont été amenée, il n'y a pas une d'espérer que la concorde puisse se rétablir d'elle-même, et sans qu'il ait extirpé les germes de dissension qu'on n'a que trop fomentés. Il faut donc y pourvoir par quelque moyen nouveau, puissant, et efficace. Celui que je propose est éprouvé. C'est par lui qu'il existe en Angleterre, entre les Grands et le Peuple, plus d'accord qu'il n'y en a, je pense, dans aucune autre nation ; nulle part ailleurs l'esprit public n'est aussi marqué ; nulle part l'intérêt n'a plus d'empire pour réunir tous les Etats.

“ Or il est constant que rien n'y contribue davantage que l'institution d'une Chambre Haute et d'une Chambre Basse dans le Parlement, ainsi que leur composition respective, les distinctions qui les séparant, et les rapports qui les unissent. Plus on étudie cet ensemble, plus on trouve à l'admirer : Les Lords qui forment la Chambre Haute, et qui tous sont titrés (ce sont les seuls qui le soient en Angleterre) partagent dans une même association, sans préjudice néanmoins à leurs qualifications distinctives, l'honneur de la Pairie ; et c'est sans contredit, le premier corps de l'Etat. Leur prérogative n'est jamais contestée ni enviée par les Communes, qui ont parmi leurs Membres les fils cadets, les frères, les parens de ces mêmes Lords et des plus grandes maisons du royaume. C'est ce mélange, cette transfusion, si je le puis dire, de la plus haute Noblesse dans le corps représentatif du peuple, qui entretient l'harmonie entre l'un et l'autre, et qui resserre le nœud de leur union ; c'est ce qui fait que les deux Chambres fraternisent sans se confondre, qu'elles se contrebalancent sans se rivaliser, que l'une empêche l'autre d'empiéter, et que toutes deux concourent également au maintien de la prerogative royale et à la conservation des droits nationaux.” Lettre adressée au Roi, par M. du Calonne, le 9 Février, 1789, p. 67, 68.

The very great advantage to a free constitution, of having a hereditary first magistrate, the depositary of the supreme executive power, so distinguished by superior rank as to exclude all idea of competition, has been very well explained by Mr. De Lolme ; but the benefit of that singular amalgamation of various rank among the people which prevails in England, has, I think, nowhere been duly noticed. In no court of Europe, I believe, is rank so exactly regulated among the higher orders as in England, and yet there is no rank perfectly insulated ; all are in some way implicated with those about them. To begin even with the Heir Apparent ; as a subject, he communicates in rank with all other subjects. The King's younger sons rank next to the elder, but their rank is liable to reduction ; their elder brother's younger sons will rank before them. The Archbishops and the Chancellor, and the great officers of state rank above Dukes not of royal blood, but their rank is that of office only : the Dukes, in family rank, are commonly much above the Archbishops and Chancellor. Thus far our rule, I believe, differs little from that of other European courts : what follows is peculiar to ourselves. The Peers, all equal in legal, differ in ceremonial rank. The sons of Peers of the higher orders, rank above the Peers themselves of the lower orders ; but, superior thus in ceremonial rank, they are in legal rank inferior. For the sons of all Peers, even of the blood royal, being commoners, while in ceremonial rank they may be above many of the Peers, in legal rank they are only Peers with the commoners. This implication of the peerage with the body of the people is the advantageous circumstance which has particularly struck Mr. de Calonne. But there is another thing which perhaps not less strongly marks the moderation of our ancestors, to whom we owe the present order

CAUTIONS AGAINST REFORMERS.

By LORD BOLINGBROKE.

IT may be said that even the Friends of Liberty have sometimes different notions about it, and about the means of maintaining or promoting it ; and therefore that even the British nation may possibly, some time or other, approve and concur in measures destructive of their Liberty, without any intention to give it up, and much more without changing from the character which they have hitherto borne among the societies of mankind, to that infamous character I have just now supposed, viz. become the most corrupt, most profligate, the most senseless, the most servile nation of wretches that ever disgraced humanity ; and who not only hold out their necks to receive, but help to put on the yoke of servitude. If this were true, it would only furnish more reasons to be always on our guard, to be jealous of every extraordinary demand, and to reject constantly every proposition, though never so specious, that had a tendency to weaken the barriers of Liberty, or to raise a strength superior to theirs. But I confess I do not think we can be led blindfold so far as the brink of the precipice. I know that all words, which are signs of complex ideas, furnish matter of mistake and cavil. We dispute about justice, for instance, and fancy that we have different opinions about the same thing ; whilst, by some little difference in the composition of our ideas, it happens that we have only different opinions about different things, and should be of the same opinion about the same thing. But this, I presume, cannot happen in the case before us. All disputes about liberty in this country, and at this time, must be disputes for and against the self-same fixed and invariable set of ideas, whatever the disputants on *one side of the question* may pretend, in order to conceal what it is not yet very safe to avow. No disputes can possibly arise from different conceptions of any thing so clearly stated, and so precisely determined, as the fundamental principles are, on which our whole liberty rests.

If liberty be that delicious and wholesome fruit on which the British nation has fed for so many ages, and to which we owe our riches, our strength, and all the advantages we boast of ; the British Constitution is the tree that bears this fruit, and will continue to bear it, as long as we are careful to fence it in, and trench it round, against the beasts of the field, and the insects of

order of things. No distinction between subjects can be really more essential than the being or not being members of the legislative body, yet the rank of a Member of Parliament is known neither to the law nor to the ceremonial of the country. Among untitled commoners indeed there is no distinction of rank that can be exactly defined ; and yet a distinction always subsists in public opinion, decided partly, and perhaps sometimes too much, by wealth, partly by consideration given to birth, connections or character, which, upon the whole, perhaps more than under any other Government, preserves the subordination necessary to the well-being of large societies.

the

the earth. To speak without a figure, our Constitution is a system of Government suited to the genius of our nation, and even to our situation. The experience of many hundred years hath shewn that, by preserving this Constitution inviolate, or by drawing it back to the principles on which it was originally founded, whenever it shall be made to swerve from them, we may secure to ourselves, and to our latest posterity, the possession of that liberty which we have long enjoyed. What would we more? What other liberty than this do we seek? And if we seek no other, is not this marked out in such characters, as he that runs may read? As our Constitution therefore ought to be, what it seldom is, the rule of Government; so let us make the conformity or repugnancy of things to this Constitution the rule by which we accept them as favourable, or reject them as dangerous to liberty. They who talk of liberty in Britain on any other principles than those of the British Constitution, talk impertinently at best, and much charity is requisite to believe no worse of them. But they who distinguish between practicable and impracticable liberty, in order to insinuate what they mean (or they mean nothing), that the liberty established by the true scheme of our Constitution is of the impracticable kind; and they who endeavour, both in speculation and practice, to elude and pervert the forms, and to ridicule and explode the Constitution; these men are enemies, open and avowed enemies, to it, and by consequence to British liberty, which cannot be supported on any other bottom.—Some men there are, the pests of society I think them, who pretend a great regard to Religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly against that system of Religion, or at least against that Church Establishment, which is received in Britain. Just so the men of whom I have been speaking, affect a great regard to Liberty in general, but they dislike so much the system of liberty established in Britain, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our Constitution, in favour of the little present momentary turns which they are retained to serve. What now would be the consequence if all these endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded that the great Philosophers, Divines, Lawyers, and Politicians, who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new Religion, and of new Constitutions in Church and State. We should find ourselves therefore without any form of Religion, or Civil Government. The *first set of these Missionaries* would take off all the restraints of Religion from the governed, and the *latter set* would remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controuls which liberty hath prescribed to *those that govern*, and disjoint the whole frame of our Constitution. Entire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or perhaps absolute Monarchy, would follow; for it is possible, nay probable, that in such a state as this, and amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would chuse this Government, absurd as it is, rather than have no Government at all.

Dissertation upon Parties.

END OF THE PUBLICATIONS.

ASSOCIATION PAPERS,

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LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

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ONE PENNY-WORTH OF TRUTH

FROM

THOMAS BULL, TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

DEAR BROTHER,

THERE has always been such a good understanding between us, that you and I can speak our minds freely to one another. Our father, you know, always maintained the character of a blunt, honest, sensible man; and our mother was as good a sort of woman as ever lived. They gave us the best teaching they could afford, and the neighbours have never counted us fools. But some people are taking great pains to make us so, and rogues into the bargain. They have tried their skill upon me, and so they will upon you; but I write you this letter to give you warning, that you may look to yourself. For it seems, John, you and I are now to learn every thing from those conceited monkeys the French. Nobody knows any thing now but they, and some Englishmen at home, who hate this country as bad as the French do. With talking about Right and Equality, and Constitution and Organization, and such like, they made my head turn round; but I see now pretty well what they mean.

They begin with telling us *all Mankind are equal*; but
A that's

that's a lie, John ; for the Children are not equal to the Mother, nor the Mother to the Father ; unless where there is *Petticoat Government* ; and such Families never go on well : the Children are often spoiled, and the Husband brought to a gaol. But I say People are not equal. The Clerk is not equal to the Parson ; the Footman is not equal to the 'Squire ; the thief at the Bar is not equal to the Judge upon the Bench. If it were as they say, then the Clerk might get up into the Pulpit ; the Footman might sit at the top of the table ; the Thief might take his place upon the Bench and try the Judge ; and the Coachman might get into the coach and set his Master upon the box ; who, not knowing how to drive, 'tis ten to one but he overturns him. Pretty work we should have with their Equality ! But let us have patience, and go on with them.

You and I were taught, that God governs the World, and that nobody has any power in it but such as he gives them : *there is no Power but of God* ; and our Saviour allowed it even in Pontius Pilate, the Roman Judge. But you are to believe now out of the *French Bible*, that all Power is of the People, that is, of *you and I, Thomas and John Bull*. But if the People in any great national question of difficulty, which is very possible, should be divided into two halves, who are the People then John ? They that lay hold of a sword first, and get to be strongest, will always call themselves the People, and the rest must go to be hanged or lose their heads. If you and I should quarrel about our Rights, and there were no Law above us, then there's *People Thomas* against *People John*, and we must settle it by a Civil War ; for when there's no Law, there's nothing left but the sword or the halter to settle all differences : so I must cut your throat or you must cut mine. This is what always comes of the Power of the People, as it is now in France ; where all questions have been carried by cutting off heads and hanging people upon lamp-irons ; and then, you know, they that are hanged can give no vote, and they that are left are all of a mind. But, however, they are as far off from being settled now as they were four years ago ; and one of their new Kings (*Marat*) said, they must have *two hundred and eighty thousand more heads off* before they should be right.

Now for their wise Notions about *Government*. As all Power is in the People, they say there can be no lawful Government but what the People make. When all Power is taken from those who are now entitled to it by Law, and put into the hands of the Mob armed with pikes and daggers, that's a *Constitution*, John. Then out of this, the said Mob raises what they call *Organs* and *Functions*, and makes a Government ; but

but they have been at it in France for four years, and though they have worked very hard some time, they have hardly got to the beginning yet. And now have you not seen enough to see what a fine contrivance this is for plundering every Gentleman of his Property, his House, his Land, his Goods, and his Money, under a pretence that every thing belongs to the *Nation*? And it holds as well, or better, against Churches than against private Houses. They tell you farther, that no Man has a Right to any thing but what he *earns himself*: so if you and I, *John* and *Thomas Bull*, work ever so hard, and leave what we have to bring up our Children in the World, they will have no Right to it, because they did not earn it themselves. This notion cuts off all Right of *Inheritance*, which is the most sacred upon earth, and without which it would not be worth while either to work or live; for the *Nation* may meet, make a new Governmeat, and take it all away at a stroke. I'll tell you a story: Some while ago a Highwayman met with his death upon the road for demanding a Gentleman's money: "That fellow," said a Wag, "was a good *Patriot*; who, supposing the Gentleman might have more money in his pocket than he *had earned*, discovered that it was the property of the *Nation*; so, making *himself* the *Nation*, he only demanded his own property. But the Gentleman being rather too quick for him, shot the *Nation* through the head, and spoiled the new principles of Government." This was bad luck; that man might have lived to have given us a continuation of *Thomas Paine*. And now, John, I'll tell thee plainly, this new notion of Government from the mob, is the foolishhest, as well as the most rascally, that ever entered into the world: and the very People that have raised themselves to Power and plunder by it, will be fools enough to deny it. They will be telling us presently how God has fought for the French against the Prussians and Austrians; while they don't believe there's a God in the world.

Let us hear next what they have to say about Kings. We are shortly to have no more of them, neither *below* nor *above*; *Tom Paine* having been heard to declare, that when he had made revolutions against the Kings upon Earth, he would try his hand at a *Revolution in Heaven*! You see, John, who they are that talk against Kings: they never fail to talk against God Almighty; and in such words as the Devils of Hell dare not utter! When they pretend to argue with us, they tell us all Kings are bad; that God never made a King; and that all Kings are very expensive. But, that all Kings are bad cannot be true; because God himself is one of them; he calls himself

King of Kings ; which not only shews us he is a King, but that he has *other Kings under him* : he is never called *King of Republics*. The Scripture calls Kings, *the Lord's Anointed* ; but who ever heard of an anointed Republic ? There are now, Brother John, many thousands of Frenchmen, who have taken to themselves that Power which belonged to their King ; where shall we get oil enough to anoint them all ? And what would they be when we had done ? They would not be the Lord's Anointed ; they would be the *Mob's Anointed* ; and there is little doubt but that, proud as they are at present, somebody will *noint* them well at last.

That God never made a King, is a great lye ; when we hear him telling us in his own words—*Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion !* Did not our Saviour say he was *King of the Jews* ? and was not he crucified for saying so ? The Jews who crucified him have never had a King of their own from that day to this : not because they dislike a King, but because they are not good enough to have one. They are the only nation upon earth that ever were or ever will be in a state of Equality ; and it has been a great and mighty work of God to make them so. No power can make men equals, but that which makes men Kings. And what shall we get by it ? We should be just where the Jews are ; a proverb to all Nations ; a monument of the Divine wrath ; and a disgrace to the world.

That Kings are very expensive things may be true, Brother John ; but if Kings keep us from such miseries as the *want of a King* has produced in France, they deserve to be well maintained, let them be who they will. When there is *no King*, then every man *does that which is right in his own eyes* ; and mind, John, not in the eyes of *any body else* ; and you may see in your Bible, how people were given up to sodomy and murder, and how sixty-five thousand of them presently fell in battle because there was nobody at that time set over them. Look about you, like a man of sense, and you will soon see that bad Subjects cost more money than good Kings. Our National Debt, for which we are now paying such heavy taxes, was doubled by the troubles in *America*. Yet those people who fomented and brought those burdens upon us, are they that rail most at the expensiveness of our Government, and use it as a handle for overturning it ; just like the Devil, who drives men into sin, and then gets them damned for it if he can : and then he is pleased, because he delights to be the author of *Misery* ; that is his *Greatness* ; and some people have no notion of any *other* : so they massacre poor Priests ; rob and plunder their
Country

Country and their Church ; put Kings and Queens in Prison ; and then sing *Ca Ira*, for joy that *Hell is broke loose !*

I have nothing more to say (till my next Letter) but that the Government which is most wicked, be the form of it what it will, is generally the weakest in itself, and the most expensive to the people : and so, after all that can be said, *Honesty is the best Policy*, and the *Honest* man is the best *Subject*. Keep this in your mind, Brother John ; and farewell.

From your loving Brother,

THOMAS BULL.

P. S. Perhaps they may tell thee, John, that thou hast Nothing to lose, and that any change may be to thy advantage ; but thou hast a *Body* and *Soul* ; and if the *Body* goes to the Gallows, and thy *Soul* to the Devil, won't that be a *Loss*, John ?

TEN MINUTES CAUTION,

FROM

A PLAIN MAN TO HIS FELLOW-CITIZENS.

IT is in general of very little importance to the reader to know who, or what sort of person, the writer of any thing is. But to you, fellow Citizens, I think it is material to consider who the men are whose writings on public matters are recommended to your perusal. In this view you will permit me to tell you something of myself. First, then, I will tell you who I am not. I am not a Foreigner, who would gratify resentment as well as pride by throwing this country into confusion. I am not a desperate Incendiary, whose circumstances cannot be made worse by any change, who will take the chance of setting the house on fire, that he may pilfer the furniture while it is burning. I am not a furious Enthusiast in Religion or Politics, who, under pretence of Toleration in the one, or Liberty in the other, would overturn the established Church or the established Constitution. I am none of those, my brethren. I am a plain man, a tradesman, who, having acquired a competency by his honest industry, is now winding up his business in order to enjoy that competency in ease and quiet, in his old age, in the

midst of a virtuous family of his own rearing. I know nothing of great Men or Ministers, and concern myself no farther about them than as I think their measures are for the interest of my country. I care not who sits at the Helm, provided the Vessel be well steered.—But though I am perfectly independent as to my own circumstances, yet I am dependent as far as this goes, that the happiness, or the prospect of the happiness, of my Fellow Citizens makes me happy; their unhappiness, or the fear of their unhappiness, makes me unhappy.

In this character, and with these feelings, I am tempted to use my pen, for the first time in public, to caution my countrymen against the mischief which some men would wish to do among you; to beg of you not to endanger the peace and prosperity of yourselves and your Country to gratify their Malice, their Ambition, or their hopes of Gain.

Consider, my Friends, at what time, and in what circumstances, those men would persuade us to make a change in our situation. Would any of us think it prudent, in the way of trade, if our business were good, our shop well frequented, our customers increasing, in short every thing about us in a thriving condition, all at once to alter our *Firm*, to change our Agents abroad, to dismiss our Clerks and Servants at home, and to tell our customers that we were to deal with them quite in a different way for the future? Would any of us do this? Or would not our relations take out a commission of lunacy against us if we did?—Just as madly, my Friends, it appears to me, should we act, if, in the present situation of our public affairs, we should think of altering that Constitution, under which, by the blessing of God, we have attained, and enjoy our present National Security and Prosperity.

I should be glad to know what advantage we are to get by the Levelling of Ranks, which those writers would persuade us to wish for, by regaining what they call the *Rights of Man*. If they have a mind to go back to the woods again, and live as they say men lived in this country two thousand years ago, let them, in God's name; but I, who am sitting in a good snug parlour with all my family comforts around me, will rather chuse to keep as I am. If there is to be any society at all, I presume some must necessarily be richer and more powerful than others: but if those who have little are secure of it, I say, as I said before, they may be as happy as those who have the most. As things are at present, I find great advantages in the riches and grandeur of some of my countrymen.

men. I have a set of wealthy customers who put a great deal of money into my pocket in the year, whose expences, suitable to their rank and situation in life, enable me to enjoy all the solid comforts suitable to mine.

I received, some time ago, a letter from an old friend and correspondent at *Manchester*, full of hard words, and in a high flown style, complaining of the extravagance and luxury of Dukes and Lords, who were no better flesh and blood than he or I, and asking me to put down my name to a set of Resolutions for correcting that abuse. I thought at first my old friend had been playing upon me, as it was about the *fooling* time of the year; but when I was told that there were seriously such Resolutions proposed at *Manchester*, I wrote a serious answer. I desired him to recollect how much of my money had gone through his hands since our first dealings with one another, and that I believed in my conscience there was scarce a single *Necessary* in all our accounts; so that if *Luxury* was to be put down, he must shut up shop. I believe my good friend was ashamed of himself, for he answered my next order, and said nothing more of the Resolutions.

The modern Levellers tell us what we are to gain by their plan; but, my Friends, it is necessary for us to think what we should loose by it. Every man in a decent situation in life, even if he earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, has something he can call his own, something he feels comfortable in, and which his way of life has made more suitable to him than the fine things of other people in a higher sphere, which is generally a situation of more care than comfort.

Every man who has something to preserve for himself, and too honest to encroach on his neighbours, will tremble at the effects of throwing loose every bond of peace and good order. My *Manchester* friends some time ago had a taste of the consequences in the burning of their cotton mills.—This is a strong instance of what are the principles lately attempted to be introduced among us. The truth is, I believe, that if this new system was to take place, the effect would be, that the next day all the rich would be ruined, above half the industrious would be soon put out of employ, and in a little time all the poor would be starved.

We hear a great deal about the *Americans* and the *French*, and the excellent Governments they have established; and one of the great Apostles of the new Doctrines tells us how much we should profit by adopting the like Governments. In the first place, I am strongly inclined to suspect the friendship of this gentleman's advice. He tells us himself,

that he began by doing this country all the harm in his power in favour of America ; that he formed the scheme, during the war with that country, of coming to England for the purpose of broaching his principles ; and seems to have thought, that if people were mad enough to listen to him, we should soon have been in such a situation, that neither America nor any other Country would have had any thing to fear from us.— I am told he has since resided principally in France, where he has probably found new reasons for making this attempt ; and yet this impostor now gravely tells you, that this is done from his great regard for your welfare : as far as himself is concerned he risks little, as, by all accounts, he has neither property nor reputation to lose.

This gentleman tells us we have no constitution, and that what we have is wretchedly bad, and that therefore we should overturn it, and get the American or the French Constitution as fast as we can. I do not imagine any of my countrymen know what these Americans or French Constitutions are ; and I confess, I hardly think it worth their enquiry, while they are happy under our own. I believe, however, the fact is, that the Americans, after they left us, were under great difficulty how to go on at all. Luckily for them, Mr. Paine was not at hand to preach confusion ; they had still some notion left of the British Constitution under which they had so long lived, and they had sense enough to conform to it as nearly as they could. As to France, their old Government was bad enough ; what it is now, it is difficult to say : I am told that, in fact, they have no government at all ; and what it will end in, he must be very wise or very bold that will guess.

Mr. Paine tells us we are oppressed and ruined by taxes ; and he proposes, if we let him make a new Constitution for us, to save us a world of expence, by turning adrift all the present servants of Government, and having only a certain number of officers by whom all the business of the Nation is to be done. Our taxes (one half of which were laid on to pay the debt of the American war, in which Mr. Paine was so active against us), to be sure, are heavy, and I am glad to find that our present managers have begun to take off some of them ; but I don't find we have been ruined even by these taxes ; on the contrary, we have been thriving apace under the present Government. But what is the reason we pay these expences ? Because the business of a nation, like that of an individual, cannot be done without paying the servants it necessarily employs. Mr. Paine indeed has made this wonderful discovery, that if you have fewer servants at less wages, it would cost
you

you less. This may be very true: but if a farmer were to part with his labourers, or a manufacturer with his workmen, under pretence of diminishing his expences, and it appeared that he did this without considering the extent and manner of cultivating the farm, or the nature and profit of the manufacture, do you think that either would be foolish enough to take his advice? If they did, the consequence would be, that at the end of the year the farmer would be turned out of his bargain for not paying his rent, and the manufacturer would become a bankrupt.

My friends I am no philosopher, nor fine writer, though I got a tolerable education at the Charter-House, and remember a little of my *grammar* as well as Mr. Paine. But without philosophy or fine writing, I may venture to beseech you, not to throw away all the blessings you possess on a wild experiment to find something better, and that too on the authority of people who have an interest in misleading you. For my own part, I am come to an age that cannot look for living long to enjoy our present national prosperity; but I have children and grand children; and I cannot bear to think, that folly or wickedness should endanger the happiness which I hope they will inherit, by having the good fortune to be born under the *British Constitution*.

A COUNTRY CURATE'S ADVICE

T O

MANUFACTURERS,

Recommended to the serious Consideration of every Workman in the various Manufacturing Towns of England and Scotland.

AS every one is interested in what is going on in this country, and as at one time I was a great stickler for Equality, I am willing to communicate to my Brother Mechanics the reasons that have made me change my mind on that head; but as they will wonder how a journeyman can be so great a Scholar, I must tell them that I was bred up at a Charity School, and took such a liking to learning, that before I was married, many a shilling of my hard earnings I laid out in buying

buying books: but when I married I found enough to do with my money. My wife, who is as kind-hearted a girl as any in the kingdom, I married for love, though she brought me a good fortune too—she had seven pounds of her own saving, and her Lady gave her ten pounds more. We have lived together four years, and, by the blessing of God, we have three fine children, and another a-coming. My earnings are a guinea a-week, and if I work hard, which I always do two or three weeks before Quarter-day, when we pay our rent, I then make six or seven-and-twenty shillings a week. Once a week I go to our Club, and drink my pint, and sometimes my pot of porter, and there we meet Mr. Paine's friends. They told me my earnings (and I was very ready to believe them) was a poor provision for a hard-working man, a wife who is often sickly, and three small children. But, to be sure, when my wife is sick she goes to the Dispensary, or if she can't go out, the Doctor comes to her, and gives her physic, so that costs us nothing. So, as I was saying, Mr. Paine's friends, for he has friends in our Club, and in a great many others, told us, It was the Rights of Man that all should be equal; that no one should be rich, and then no one would be poor; that if all the riches was divided equally amongst every body, we should be the happiest people in the world; and that I, being a Scholar and an Honest Man, would make a much better Parliament Man than Mr. Burke or any other turn-coat amongst them; and all that we had to do was to join the other Clubs, and chuse Leaders, who would oblige the Parliament to give us redress, or they would serve them as the brave Frenchmen have served the Despots and Aristocrats of France, cut off their heads, and carry them about upon pikes: "Is it not hard, say they, " that worthy hard-working men, such as you, should only have from One to Two Guineas a-week, and many have from 100l. to 500l. a-week, and nothing at all to do but to take their pleasure? Most of us agreed it would be a fine thing to be all upon an Equality, and found, by the calculations of Mr. Paine's friends, that we should at least have Three Guineas, and nothing to do for it; that as all Taxes would be done away, our Three Guineas a-week would go as far as Ten, so that every body would be able to live like Gentlemen of 500l. a year.

I came home and told this to my wife, and was settling how well we should live, and what fine things we should do for our children; but she stopped me by saying, "Dear William, if we are all to have Three Guineas a-week, who will plough the Land? Who will grind the Corn? As to baking the Bread,
thank

thank God, I can do that, as I learnt to bake when I was Dairy-Maid to my good Lady, who took me when my mother died, and I was then just turned of four, and kept me till I married you, when you came down to see your poor old father, who had his leg broke by the blind horse he carried fish about on, and who must have died but for the kindness of my Lady and the Parson, who sent for the Doctor, and who fed him all the time he was ill, and who had him tended night and day.—Who will make the Children's Clothes? Who will make their Shoes?—I am afraid, William, there is some mistake in all this. Do, my dear Man, consult our Curate; he was brought up in the same parish with us; he was at school with you, and always being a 'cute boy, his honor, my Lady's husband, sent him to the Varsity with young Master, and paid for his learning, and made a Parson of him, which, God knows, is a bad business enough, for he must dress like Gentlemen-folks, and that on less than thirty shillings a-week."—By this you will see what sort of a woman my wife is.

I took her advice, and told the Curate all that had passed in our Club. He said he was grieved there was such depravity in the world; that the people who told us these fine stories knew they were false; and that they only preached up the doctrine of Equality for their own private purposes. Some of them wished a convulsion for the sake of plunder—some in hopes of getting employment in case of a Revolution; and a great number of them were in the pay of France, who continues to this moment the rooted enemy of Old England; as witness their late readiness to join Spain, whom they hate, and who hates them.

"But my good friend, says he (the Curate is not a proud man), you understood arithmetic when you was at school; let us examine a little their arguments and calculations. They say there is to be perfect Equality, and no taxes; at least the Taxes are to be very moderate, and only for the support of a very economic Government; of course all the property in the Funds is done away at once, and there is no division to be expected from that quarter. It is calculated there is twenty-four millions of gold and silver in circulation in this kingdom: if it was possible to get at all this money, and make an equal division of it, it would be about three pounds to each individual, there being about eight millions of inhabitants in the island: but of this money many millions are in the hands of people like yourself; for instance, what money have you now in the house?"—when, to be sure, we found we had two guineas, a half-guinea, and six shillings, besides halfpence, and it was then Friday night,
and

and next day we should get another guinea, and it was still a month to quarter-day, and except our rent, we did not owe a farthing in the world. The Curate continued, "A great deal," says he, "must be in the hands of publicans and little shopkeepers, who can easily secrete it: what is in the hands of the rich will either be sent abroad, or buried on the first beginning of a commotion. There then only remains the land and cattle to make a division of.—There are, as I said, eight millions of people, and there are by estimation, about twenty-five millions of acres in cultivation; if this is equally divided, it will be little more than three acres to each individual. We may reckon one cow or bullock to every ten acres. Now you, your wife, and three children, having each a little more than three acres, will make your share amount to sixteen acres, a cow and an half; and I will suppose that every two acres will support a sheep, so that you will have eight sheep. But two months hence, when your wife is brought to-bed, there will be an inequality of which you will have a right to complain, especially if your neighbour, who has four children, and an old father and mother, should loose two children and his parents, as he would then have about twenty-six acres to support four people, and you would have but sixteen to support six. But now that you have your land, your cow, and sheep, and I will suppose your farm lies exactly where you wish it, that you have the four acres pasture where we played at cricket on holidays, that you have the beautiful field close to it, though there would be many competitors for that, Old Turner always saying it was the best wheat land in the parish, and that you have likewise the Parson's rood, which, by the bye, would go near to break the old man's heart, making together near sixteen acres—how will you manage to plough the arable part of it, to sow, to reap, to get in, to thresh?—The business will be quite new to you; nor will the quantity of land that falls to your lot, or indeed to the lot of any one family, entitle you to horses for a team, so that most of these useful animals must be sold to foreigners, for no Englishman will be able to buy them, or have wherewithal to keep them, excepting the farmers and their former labourers may join in getting a few, and by working in little communities may raise the necessaries of life sufficient for themselves: but as you can do nothing for them, they will be at no trouble in assisting you; they will exist tolerably; but you, and all mechanics such as you, who are employed, some in preparing equipages for the rich, and most in manufacturing for the use of the middling ranks of life, must, in the course of a few years, starve. The Funds being done away and the Lands divided

divided, there can be no rich people—of course no carriages—no fine manufactures from Manchester—no hardware from Sheffield or Birmingham—no fine broad cloths from Gloucestershire or Wiltshire—no camlets, stuffs, or crapes, from Norwich ; so that instead of earning your Guinea or Twenty-six shillings a-week, you would soon be reduced to part with your land (having eat your cow and sheep) to your more skilful and more hardy neighbours the farmers and their former labourers, and for a mere subsistence become drudges to them. The people employed in farming bear a proportion of more than three to one employed in manufactures ; they being in addition to this a hardier race, will keep what was the manufacturing part in subjection ; so that you will be the great losers by the Revolution, even supposing it should take place. But are you aware of the difficulties and dangers attending it ? This country is not like what France was : Here, let them say what they please, we have liberty ; and the proof is, the incendiaries being allowed to have their meetings, and write what they do with impunity, when even in their favourite, their free country of France, if a man dared to speak his sentiments against the present Government, he would instantly be put to death. This country is different from France in the great number of people in the middle and lower classes who have property of their own, and who will be tenacious of that property : for instance, all the farmers in the kingdom ; all the shop-keepers in the kingdom ; and many—many are the people who have from 20 to 200l. in the Funds, who will not sit tamely and see their property plundered. To these you may add a long list of servants, who, if their masters are ruined, must go back to the class of day labourers. I have not taken into the account yet, and I thank God, the numbers will be found great amongst those who have no earthly goods to lose—those who have a conscience, and who would do no evil to any man—those who believe in a God that will reward the just and punish the wicked, and who will not lose their souls eternally for a little present, and, as I have shewn, a very temporary gain. The moral certainty then is, that if a Revolution is attempted in this country, the good sense of the people will quell it in the bud : but many lives may be lost, and much misery entailed on private families.—A husband, because he would not join the ruffians in plunging a dagger in the breast of a benefactor, or roasting an innocent child, might be brought home to his wife a mangled corpse."

Here my poor wife screamed out, and after a burst of tears said, God forbid, William, we should wish for Equality at the expence of others ; you, my dear, by your industry, can turn
your

But they'll find in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 We always are steady
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

IV.

No religion or laws the vile Jacobins own;
 Their God they deny, and their King they dethrone;
 To gain their own ends the poor people they cheat,
 Then leave them to starve, not a morsel to eat.

Then let us in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 Be ever most steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

V.

Their trade is all gone, there are none now to buy,
 The rich are all banish'd, the poor left to die,
 No corn in their markets, no coin in their states,
 No ships in their ports, and no faith in their gates.

But they'll find in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 We always are steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

VI.

But look, ye bold Britons, around you, and see
 The contrast how great, ye are happy and free;
 Here Peace spreads her olive, and Plenty her store,
 And Justice alike guards the rich and the poor.

Then shew in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 Ye always are steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

VII.

Our commerce is great, manufacturers well paid,
 The world is our mart, so extensive our trade;
 All, all, have employment, the idle alone
 Have cause of complaint, but the fault is their own.

But shew in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 We always are steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

VIII.

Our Nobles for Liberty freely will bleed,
 Since they planted her first, in the fam'd Runnymede;
 Most sacred our Gentry her boughs will sustain,
 From the blows of vile France, or their engine, Tom Paine.

Then

your guinea or more a-week when you like it, while your poor brother and my poor sister have each large families to maintain in a country where firing is dear, and bread not cheap, and your brother and my brother-in-law find it hard to earn seven shillings a-week, and yet thank God, they are contented. 'Tis true, when they are sick, the parish is good to them; but when we are all equal, they will do away the Poor's Rates; there will be no Hospitals to take in the poor when they are lamed; and no Dispensary to give us physick when we are sick. Ah! William, let us be thankful and satisfied with our situation; the Curate has shewn no Equality can benefit us.

I have taken her and the good Curate's advice—I will go no more to the Club, and I write this in hopes men in my station will see when they are well off.

S O N G.

To the Tune of—" *Hearts of Oak.*"

YE Britons, so brave, so bold and so free,
Come lend your attention, and listen to me;
I'll shew you most clearly the plots that are laid,
To steal all your comforts, your blessings invade.
But to join in the cause
Of King, Liberty, Laws,
Ye always are ready,
And steady, boys—steady,
To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

II.

The French most perfidious, we ever have found,
Old England they hate, and would fain pull her down;
Our glory they envy, our happiness too,
And would change our old gold, for their tinsel so new.
But we'll shew in the cause
Of King, Liberty, Laws,
We always are steady,
And ready, boys—ready,
To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza!

III.

Afraid that the Lion of England should wake,
They try to steal that, they dare not try to take;
They pay wicked men, to seduce you with lies,
And to rob you securely, throw dust in your eyes.

But

Then firm in the cause,
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 Ye always are steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza !

IX.

Our soldiers are loyal, brave, honest, and true,
 Our sailors unmatch'd, should you search the world through ;
 Our poor, when industrious, have plenty, and ease,
 And Charity holds out her alms to disease.

Then firm in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 Ye always are steady,
 And ready, boys—ready.
 To defend our Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza !

X.

The King is our father, protector, and friend,
 And firmly our rights, and his own, will defend :
 Then our hearts and our voices uniting, we'll sing,
 And pray for long life, and long reign, to our King.
 And staunch in the cause
 Of King, Liberty, Laws,
 We'll ever be steady,
 And ready, boys—ready,
 To fight for Old England, Huzza, boys, huzza !

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NUMBER II.

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PRICE, ONE PENNY.

ONE PENNY-WORTH OF ANSWER

FROM

JOHN BULL TO HIS BROTHER THOMAS.

Look e're you leap, and cautious fly from *Pain*,
Or you will find—*Old Chaos* come again.

London, Dec. 3, 1792.

DEAR BROTHER,

I Thank you for your kind letter. But you need not fear me. —I am neither so *false* or *inattentive* to our common interests, as to believe in, or trust to, “Those *Revolutionists* and *Republicans*,” as you call them;—They have, it is true, Brother Thomas, attempted and tried by all their arts and tricks, to turn me; ecod, I think to turn me topsy turvy;—But says I to myself;—*Who be ye?—What be ye? Where d'ye come from?—What d'ye want?*—Says Reason directly,—“*Beware of wolves in sheeps' clothing—Hypocrites—Robbers, Murderers, Fellows void of Principle.—Incendiaries* who would set fire to a house, that they might plunder the property in the

A

“con-

“ confusion ; *beggars*, who are undone in their own fortunes,
 “ and aiming at thy destruction, John.—Thy barn is well
 “ filled and they want to thresh thy corn. *John take heed !* !”

Good Nature has (you know, Thomas) always been the character of our family ; but don't think me such a fool, as to throw away *present* and *certain* happiness for the *chance* of *future*, when that future also is to be sought for and obtained *through guilt*, and *the manifold horrors of murdering innocents, from party prejudice ! Sacrificing parental and fraternal affections, and overthrowing those HIGH DUTIES which are justly due, to OUR GOD and to OUR KING !—No Thomas ! Never ! ! Honest John Bull*, I have long been called ; *honesty* signifies *fidelity, perseverance, and integrity*. I possess them ALL ; and the thrice valuable distinction of *honest*, shall go down to my children, as the well merited addition to my Name.

We have been holders for many generations of this *goodly estate* ; and there has not yet been one of the family *faithless* to his *Liege Lord*. Shall I then be the first to throw *off fealty*, because a nest of *Rascally Levellers*, from their mouths of envy, cry aloud ; “ we possess true Freedom, we are subject to no “ controul ; we are the free tenants of the world,” not I ; I say with you, Thomas, “ its false,” *They have not ; they do not possess pure freedom* ; are they not fettered and chained to the car of anarchy ; and are they not toiling through the dark passages of violence, rapacity, famine and death ? While we, housed in our comfortable cabins, can hear the wind blow and the rain beat. Our cattle are safe in the stall, our corn untrampled by the foe ; and if we should *through the mouldring of time, want a little repair ; we have but to ask, AND LANDLORD WILL GRANT THEM*. Then again if we have a complaint to make, or are complained against, are we not left to judge for ourselves, as a body may say—that is—*Don't we justly determine one neighbour for the other. Here we have pure and true Equality of British Government !—THAT* we'll preserve and continue thankful for to Time's end.

As for *High and Low, Rich and Poor, Learned and Ignorant*, being *Equals all*, all of one degree—This is nonsense—impossible. Where is *Right and Wrong*—where *Science and the Arts* ? Suppose now, Thomas, chance should place you and I in a ship at sea, where we never were before, should we scoff at the sailors, for managing the ship so well as to bring us safe back again, when if we were left to ourselves, we should be lost, because we did not know how to manage it ; should we at such a time call the sailors our equals ? It is nonsense. Did not their judgment and skill save the ship ? Now, Thomas, it is
 just

just the same in the Arts of Government ; are not you and I, and ail mankind, benefited by the labours of those that are gone hence, and also by the discernment and superior talents of the living, who are higher gifted than ourselves?—Psha! it won't bear talking about—The return of equality must prove the return of misery ; but no more of this foolish stuff.

Let us grant, Thomas, that we do labour a little for the ease we enjoy ; *don't Landlord work in his turn too* ; and did not he buy *the manor*, as one may say, at least *his fathers* did for him, and gave a good price too?—

As to their “ *Ca ira*,” what is it?—In order to get at the real sense of it, I asked our good *old Parson Orthodox*, who says, I am sure *Thomas* he is *right*, because it agrees with all their actions.—He says, “ *Ca Ira*,” means, “ *As I'm ruined—as I'm unhappy—as I am a wretch* ;—I'll endeavour to render my neighbour so too, and bring the happy down to my own miserable forlorn condition ; and when I have done that, we shall be all alike ; and then that's EQUALITY.—Perhaps, if I can make him dissatisfied with his situation, fortitude may forsake him in an unguarded moment, and, I supplanting, may rise upon his downfall.”

There's “ *Ca Ira*” for you ! But is it not so?—Whoever attempts to disprove it, Thomas, bid him ask of the numberless thousands who are now in tears in France, who are crying for the loss, *some* of their fathers—*some* of their brothers—*some* of their husbands—*The old*, of the comfortable and only prop of declining life—*The young*, of their natural protection—*babes* deprived of their mothers—mother's of their offspring—What will he say then ? But let us turn from the dreadful scene ; let us unite against the hour “ of lamentation, and weeping, “ and great mourning, when Rachel may be weeping for her “ children, and will not be comforted because they are not.”

To be sure, Thomas, the *Lewis's* have been bad neighbours for ages. Yet, I bear them no grudge : No, God help them, they are in trouble enough now ; let us be warned by their example, and guard against like evils fallen upon them. We should remember, Thomas, we have got no *Bastille* in England.

As to the *cabal* overturning religion, it was a branch wanting to the *Great Tree* of Evil they were about to plant. Not that they are *disbelievers*, or think RELIGION *useless* in their hearts. No ! They well know—it holds mankind together in the grand *chain* of universal benevolence ; *That chain*, which they wished to divide, to *sever Man from his God*, and reduce him to a level with the brutes.—Their general re-

sisting spirit required it—no other means could be found—no casuistry—no sophistry could support the abolition and destruction of earthly Monarchy ; but the *denial of heavenly supremacy*.

I shall conclude with assuring you of *my inviolable attachment to our good old principles* ; trusting that you, Thomas, will commune with, and advise all your neighbours to think and stedfastly act in the same way ; bid them remember the Fables of “ the old Man and his Sons with the bundle of “ Sticks ;” and of “ the House divided against itself.” Bid them, “ Set their *hearts and minds* against *innovations* and *levelling plunderers* :” those *profest foes* to the blessed doctrine of “ *peace and good will to all*,”———So saying,

Remember your affectionate brother,

JOHN BULL.

JOHN BULL's SECOND ANSWER

TO HIS

BROTHER THOMAS.

DEAR BROTHER,

I THANK you over and over again for your very kind letter, and I assure you that I shall follow your advice, as I heartily agree with what you say. It was very thoughtful of you to caution me against the snares that evil minded men were laying for me, for you know very well that I am too plain, too honest, and too open hearted ; and too apt to believe every body like myself---sincere, just, and true : though I must own, that I have been so often tricked (both by English, as well as by foreign sharpers) that I begin to look sharp now, therefore not so easy to be taken in : besides, as I fear God and love my King and Country, and always pray to the Lord to deliver me from the crafts and subtleties that the Devil or man worketh against me, I trust that he will give me grace to resist the temptations of the Devil ; and power to overcome wicked men, which are his IMPS. I am amazed to hear that we are to learn every thing from those French Tigers (for they are not Monkies now) as they have changed their mimicking and chattering, into clawing and biting. But what are

we

we to learn from 'em? To cut innocent folk's heads off, and carry 'em about the streets fixed on a pole, marching to their hellish tune of *Ca ira* and other cruelties too shocking to mention. You say we must believe out of the French bibles; but I say that I never will: for the words of bad-men must give way to the word of God. If it begins with saying that men are all equal, it begins with a lye; and as lying is the work of the Devil, *it must* have been wrote by his direction. They may as well say that Brutes are equal; but we know better; for the Mule is not equal to the Elephant; the Ass to the Horse, or the Pig to the Lion; neither in strength nor wisdom. This shews that the Almighty maker of the world thought proper (in his infinite wisdom) to make distinctions: and he saw that all this was good. But let us suppose that men are born equal (because they all come into the world without a shirt) do you think they can remain so long? No; because the honest, sober, industrious saving man will encrease his property; while the lazy, sculking, drunken rascal, will remain poor and miserable. Here begins the alteration of equality; a thing that has always been, and always will be as long as the world stands: therefore the only way to be equal, is to be virtuous. Some nights ago I went to smoke a pipe with your old friend, David Trusty, (Sir John Blunt's steward) a sensible worthy old man, who has never done an unfair thing towards any one. He gave us a short history of the French Revolution, by way of letting us know what we must expect if we tried to make one here; for it is easy to begin, but very hard to end.

When the National Assembly, said Trusty, began to pull down religion, it was plain that they wanted to make themselves masters; and they were cunning enough to know, that if the people continued to fear God, they never would consent to murder and plunder their neighbours: therefore they told them religion was all a hum, and that they would live as happy if they worked or danced, or got drunk of a Sunday, as they would be if they went to church morning and afternoon. As it is more easy to persuade people to do evil than to do good, they soon made them of their way of thinking, so they all became Atheists, that is to say, they neither feared God nor Devil. Now, my good friends, we all know very well that when man forsakes God, God forsakes him; so he is left intirely to the will of Satan, who gives him work enough to do. No wonder that they joined with such good wills in robbing the Church and Clergy, and in butchering and banishing the great for the sake of their property. Can such a nation stand long? will not the fire of Heaven fall upon

it and consume it like Sodom and Gomorrah? Who, and what are the men, said I, that have accepted the Devil's commission to do all that mischief? Why, said he, the most active of their leaders were the most wicked, the most profligate, and the most villanous rascals in the kingdom; just like the men with whom they are linked in this country: fellows that have no honesty, no property, nor no credit: over-head and ears in debt; afraid of going to prison, and ready to undertake any thing, no matter what! away they go, *neck or nothing, sink or swim*, 'tis all one to them: they know that they can't change for the worse, and that makes them willing to try what luck will bring.

When I asked him who began to put such bad thoughts in the heads of Englishmen, who are noted all over the world for the love of their country? He answered, it must have been the Devil in the shape of Thomas Paine: for no man could be malicious enough to disturb the peace of his fellow creatures without provocation. Pray have you ever heard of the life of Mad Tom the writer of the Rights of Rogues; No, said I; then I'll tell it you. To his shame, be it said, he was born in England; by trade a Stay-maker; and he was too idle to earn his bread. He sold the goods of his ready-furnished lodging, and ran away with the money. He married two wives at once; one of them died of a broken heart from his ill usage; and the other he left to starve, if she liked it. He was in the Excise; but was kicked out for roguery. Then he went to America; and there he betrayed his country by helping the Americans to stab their old mother, who had brought them up so tenderly; but finding that she is almost recovered of the wound, and likely to live comfortably and creditably for many years, he is gone over to France, to prevail upon them, if he can, to come over and give her the *death blow*, as he is in hopes of getting part of her estates. As the French are determined to banish all honest men, and to encourage vagabonds, they have made him one of their members: so Tom is raised from the shop-board to the parliament house; and instead of making stays for three shillings a day, he gets fifteen for making laws: and you may judge how good they will be from the goodness of his actions." "Can a poor mad wretch," said I, "who ought to be chained in Bedlam or Newgate, boast of making laws for the world; and in particular a constitution for old Englynd, who is as sound and as fresh as a four-year old? Does he and his brothers think that we shall be as easily gulled as the French? and that Britons, who enjoy more liberty
and

and property, than any nation under Heaven, will change it for their foolish equality?

But how can people be all equal? If every body was so, how should I get a man to go to plough, a boy to tend the cows, and a maid to mind the dairy? If men were all made equal, very few would work: so we should soon be as they are in France --half starved. Dont you think this equality scheme was invented by some jail-bird, as a new way to pay off old debts?" "When I look at what passes in their convention," said Trusty, "I hardly see any thing but complaints that make my heart ache. In one place they have no bread, and are obliged to eat bran boiled with garden-stuff; in another their poor soldiers are starving for want of food and cloaths; forced to march bare-footed upon flints, because they have neither shoes nor stockings. In one town there's five thousand men out of work; in another, ten; and at Lyons thirty thousand silk-weavers are dying with hunger, because their looms are all stopped: and all this owing to their banishing and plundering the rich, which are the only people that can afford to encourage trade. How would the numerous family of the Bulls (who have been admired by foreigners for their fat, jolly rosy faces and round bellies) like to change roast beef and plumb pudding for bran and garden-stuff; and to be all made equal by changing their round faces and paunches for thin jaws and lank guts?" "Not at all," said I: "but is that their equality?" "They are equal in nothing," said he, "but in appearance; and that is half ragged and half famished." "They were always very poor," said a man who had lived there; "for I remember salt was so dear that they could scarcely get a bit to eat with their meat." "And do you think them better off now, said Trusty, "that they have *no meat to eat with their salt?*"

After hearing of so many miseries brought upon the poor of that unhappy country by a set of wicked, selfish men, can you suppose, my dear Thomas, that I could be such a noodle as to believe any of the wretches (although they be Englishmen) they may send into the country to deceive me? No: thank God and good friends I know better: and if they expect to make a fool of me, they'll be mistaken; and they may find, to their cost, that they took hold of the wrong sow by the ear." An ill looking dog (but well dressed) came to the house where I was with Mr. Trusty, and asked leave to join us; and after calling for his bottle, he began talking about Liberty and Equality, Rights of Man, and so forth: at last he finished by saying that he wondered why the people would not do as the French, join hand in hand to pull down the great, for this was

the right time, and if they did not succeed they had nothing to lose. "What an impudent lie," said I: "do you know an Englishman (except he is a lazy fellow, a drunkard, or a vagabond) that has nothing to lose? Suppose that a journeyman carpenter loses his chest of tools; will that be nothing? if that poor labourer loses four weeks labour in helping you, will that be nothing? How is his wife and family to live? by the parish, you'll say; but how is the parish to keep them when the rich are become poor, and their wealth divided among thieves: who will remain to pay the poor's rates? you mean, (though you don't dare say it) that he may get a good booty, but if he does, it won't do him any good, because he won't come by it honestly, so he may stand a chance at last, of dying like a thief at the gallows, in a jail, or in a ditch: for few of them die in their beds." "Well," said he, "as we cannot agree, I'll go: so here's Tom Paine, Liberty and Equality." "You rascal," said an old soldier, "if you speak another word I'll break your head; the king is my master; and what is more, a good husband, a good father, and a good man. I have eat his bread a many years, and would lose my life to save his: and sooner than lift my hand against the man that feeds me, I would chop it off! Is there a man here, that would not do the same?" "God forbid," said I, we should be worse than dogs, if we had no gratitude, for they always lick the hand that gives them food."

"These villains," said Trusty, "are hired to go about in this manner to preach the hellish doctrines of their employers, who know, (by what has been done in France) that they can't *dethrone the King; put his Family in Prison; overturn the Church and murder its Ministers; banish the Nobility and Gentry; and make themselves masters of the Kingdom, without the help of working men*; for that reason these rascals are sent to make the people dissatisfied, and to have them ready to join in a Mob: Beware of these Wolves in Sheep's cloathing: for they look full of meekness and sanctity, and by their canting and whining, will persuade you that they are as harmless as lambs: but that's all pretence: for their hearts are full of selfishness and deceit: therefore keep in mind the mischief they have done, and guard against what they would do! If these men are not ashamed of taking the natural enemies of this Country and Religion by the hand, and offer their service to them; if they are not ashamed of sending a Briton, to be changed into a French Citizen, I have no reason to be ashamed of saying that such actions don't become a good Protestant,

testant, a good Christian, or a good Man. Yet these are greatest talkers about a reform." "I heartily wish," said I, "that they would begin it by reforming themselves, and so let charity begin at home." "That's a good wish," said Trusty; "and if every man would set about doing the same, it would make us more happy than reforming the Constitution will do. Let us shew our love for our country, our attachment to our King, and our zeal for the constitution, by peaceable behaviour; but if our foes try to disturb our happiness, let the British Lion be roused; let every Englishman join heart in hand to destroy the common enemy, and shew to the world, that Britons will always be true to their Country, Church, and King. Let us fill a bumper, and drink a toast before we part. May the Almighty hand that made Great Britain, ever be stretched forth to support it from home and foreign foes, and pour on the heads of its peaceable inhabitants, the choicest blessings of Heaven—Health, Peace, and Prosperity!"

What a good man Trusty is; I wish we had more like him. Now, my dear brother, I shall end this long letter, by wishing that we may live to see the Men who endeavour to confound our Peace, confounded; that they who are laying snares for us, may be caught in a Noose; and that the Englishmen who can't live in Comfort and Peace *under a good King*, may be forced to live in war, confusion, and strife, under a *bad French Convention*.

No more at present, from your loving Brother,

JOHN BULL.

P. S. I hear that there's two Reforming Parties beating up for recruits; one called The Demolishers, and the other The Botchers. The first ought not to be encouraged at all; and the other as little as possible; for as it is made up of very idle and careless workmen, who have been a long time out of bread, for want of characters, it is dangerous to trust them, least they should do like travelling tinkers, stop one hole, and make two for the sake of another job: besides it is suspected that they don't mean to use English Mortar in their work, but plaister of Paris; and 'tis that which makes people afraid; for as the plague has been a long time in that city, and so many poor people have died of it, we can't be too careful to keep it away, therefore it would be foolish to run any risk.---Mind them all, Tom!

A LETTER

A LETTER

FROM

JOHN BULL TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.

MY DEAR FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

MANY evil minded persons are come amongst us, who want to set us together by the ears as they have done in France, and wish to have us believe that *John Trot* the Plough-boy, ought to sit in his master's chair, or at least by the side of him; and this they call *Liberty* and *Equality*.

In order to bring about this wonderful change in the world, they tell you that all Kings must be knocked at head; there must be no Lords, no distinction of rank or property;---what do you think they mean by all this?---I'll tell you in two words---They want to be *uppermost* themselves. They would make you believe there will be no taxes when this event takes place; but God forbid that old *John Bull* and his brethren should so lose their senses as to believe such an absurd thing as this. Let who will be uppermost (and depend upon it, after millions of lives are lost, somebody must be uppermost) taxes must be paid; as no nation or government can exist without money to support it; which must be paid in part by those who are undermost. They tell you that the taxes are very high: the taxes certainly are high, owing to the expence of the American War; and what is the remedy these seditious and wicked persons propose? Why they are running us into a war with these mad Frenchmen, with whom they are in league, which in all probability will prevent the taxes from being taken off, which would have been (as we might have hoped from the example of last year) and in the midst of the highest credit and prosperity, they are plunging old England into war and confusion, by making you uneasy and discontented, when you have every reason to be otherwise. With all these taxes of which they complain, I beg you to observe that there is scarcely one man in a hundred but what lives better than his father or grandfather did.

Though

Though there is a great number of taxes, there is greater plenty of money; and in some places so much that I can see many a rare hard fellow who can afford to drink three days in the week with the money he gets in the other three, and see many others very wise and good who quietly treasure up their gains, and presently set down to enjoy a comfortable rest in their declining years; knowing at the same time that by the protection of the laws, they have no cause to fear its being taken from them, by an oppressive or unjust arm.

I defy any of these wretches who want to rob you of a peaceable and contented mind, to point out a time when this kingdom had more riches in it, or a more flourishing trade. Do not be so mad, my dear friends, as to throw away those pre-eminent advantages, by suffering French Monsieurs to leap into old England's luxuriant meadows, and lay waste those glorious fields, in which so many honest British hands have toiled.

I will lay before you a short history of what has happened in our own country. There was one king James II. that reigned over these kingdoms; and this foolish fellow took it into his head, to become a down right Papist, turning out every body that would not acknowledge the Pope, or do as he would have them; upon which I, *John Bull*, arose with all my host, and fairly kicked him beyond seas: when we had done this we were not willing to be without a king, for we had all seen by woeful experience that neither Republick, nor having any old Noll as a Protector, would do; and we sent for an honest good natured Dutchman called William, who had married one of our princesses, and we set him upon the throne on conditions, one of the chief was, that he himself confirmed to us, a *Declaration of Rights*, which is in effect the same as what is called *The Rights of Man*; with this material difference, that all the rights claimed then, were for the good order of Government, and the security of liberty, property, and quiet; whilst those claimed now, must end in the overthrow of all three. In consequence of our agreement then, and our own proposal, the present Royal Family came to the throne, and have ever since stuck by this *Declaration of Rights*, and behaved to all their subjects with as much mildness and goodness as possible. But I must remark to you, that though these advantages gained by the people were great, they were purchased very dear; for our taxes, then became heavier, and have been increasing ever since, by which we may learn, that having a Revolution, is not the way to get rid of taxes; and you may depend upon it, if you had

a new form of Government to-morrow, those who would then get the rule, would take care to be well paid for their trouble; and you would see that when they had once got the power, they would not lose the profit, nor would our pockets be a bit the heavier for it!

One of their grand cheats is to make you believe, that every poor man will be rich, and may teach you all to cry out "*Why should one man be richer than another;*" If you will consider a moment, you will see how absurd this idea is; for if no man is to be richer than another, there would be an end of all arts, manufactures, trade, and commerce; for this plain reason, because it would be of no use for any man to toil and work, if he could not be secure of enjoying what he had got, without being knocked at head by his neighbours. Preferments, honours, and riches in this kingdom are open to the attainment of every individual in it, who has merit or industry; and we see numberless examples; of persons raised from the lowest situations in life to the highest, by their own endeavours. Now, would it not be the wickedest, the most unjust, and base thing, that an assembly of riotous people should rise up against a man in such a situation and say, "we will divide your gains amongst ourselves, and you shall only have a part?" Property was always held a most sacred thing; and if such doctrines as are now held forth, are to gain ground, no one can be safe, nor can there be peace or security in society.

I shall now take my leave of you for the present, hoping these sentiments will meet your approbation, and be of some service to my country; and wishing you to remember that if you have any expectations of salvation in that eternal world to which we are all hastening, you must faithfully obey those holy precepts of your Religion, which bid you fear God, honour the king, and as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

I am, your true and honest adviser
and real friend and brother,

Dec. 6, 1792.

JOHN BULL.

Extract from the Speech of M. Pethion, the Mayor of Paris, upon the Accusation of M. Robespierre, respecting the Murders of the 2d and 3d of September.

“ **O**N the 2d of September the alarm is given by the
 “ firing of guns, and the ringing of bells.—O day
 “ of sorrow ! At these dismal and alarming sounds the citi-
 “ zens assemble—they rush into the prisons—they massacre—
 “ they assassinate. Manuel and several deputies of the Na-
 “ tional Assembly repair to these places of slaughter ; but
 “ their efforts are vain—Victims fall even in their arms !
 “ Meanwhile I was in a false security.—I was ignorant of
 “ these cruelties. Nothing had been communicated to me
 “ for some time. At length these horrors reach my ears ;—
 “ but how ? In a very vague, indirect, and imperfect way ;
 “ and I am at the same time informed that all is over. Soon
 “ after the most shocking accounts are brought to me : but
 “ I was fully convinced that the sun, which had risen on
 “ these horrid scenes, would never give light to such ano-
 “ ther day ; and yet they continue. I write to the Com-
 “ mandant General for troops to be sent to the prisons. At
 “ first I receive no answer. I write again. I am then told
 “ that he has given orders. There is, however, no appear-
 “ ance of the execution of any such orders. The cruelties
 “ still continue. I then go myself to the council of the
 “ commune ; and from thence to the Hotel de la Force with
 “ several of my colleagues.

“ Citizens, not very tumultuous, filled the streets leading to
 “ the prison. I found a small guard at the door. I enter.
 “ Never, no, never, will the spectacle, that presented itself to
 “ my eyes, be effaced from my heart ! I saw two officers in
 “ their fashes ; I then saw three men sitting quietly at a table,
 “ with the goaler’s book open before them, calling over the
 “ prisoners. Other men, putting questions to them—others
 “ performing the offices of juries and of judges—a dozen of
 “ executioners with their arms naked and covered with gore ;
 “ some of them with clubs in their hands ; and others with
 “ hangers and cutlasses streaming with blood, instantly execut-
 “ ing the sentences pronounced---Citizens on the outside im-
 “ patiently awaiting the sentences---observing the most pro-
 “ found and sullen silence at a decree of death, and shouting
 “ with joy at an acquittal.---And both the men who judged,
 “ and the men who executed, seemed to be in the same state
 “ of security, as if they had been appointed by the law to dis-
 “ charge those offices. They boasted of their justice, of their
 “ great

“ great attention to distinguish the innocent from the guilty,
 “ and of the services they had rendered :—and they wanted—
 “ can it be believed ?—they wanted to be paid for the time
 “ they had thus passed ! I was confounded at hearing them.
 “ I spoke to them the stern language of the law. I spoke to
 “ them with sentiments of the deepest indignation. I made
 “ them all go out before me ; and scarce had I quitted the
 “ prison myself, when they returned. Again I returned there
 “ to drive them out. In the night they completed their hor-
 “ rid butchery.”

Thus perished, by the most moderate accounts, in the space of two days and nights, near *five thousand* persons, priests, nobles, citizens, soldiers, and women---and not even an attempt has yet been made to bring the merciless assassins to justice.

To avoid a similar fate, full forty thousand French of all ranks and descriptions have fled to the different countries of Europe—condemned, unheard to banishment, confiscation of property, and the last extremity of wretchedness and want—some for having adhered conscientiously to the religion and constitution their country---others for having refused, though, in the beginning, favourers of the Revolution, to go all the lengths dictated by a wild, cruel, and fanatic mob.

Are these examples to be proposed to Englishmen ?

F I N I S.

S O N G.

Tune : “ *O the golden Days of Good Queen Bess.* ”

WHAT a pother in this land, about our French neighbours! '
 How they live but t' command, and have ceas'd from all
 their labours :

Nothing now must be talk'd of, but the Grand Revolution,
 We must follow the French fashion, and change our constitution.
 Long may Old England possess good cheer and jollity,
 Liberty and property, and no equality.

How these gallant French heroes through Flanders do roam,
 Glad to get their bread and cheese any where but at home.
 But whilst their poles of Liberty in every town they plant,
 At home their wives and children are crying out for want.
 Long may Old England, &c.

Well supply'd with English muskets, how valiantly they fight;
 They need but to present them their enemies to fright.
 Their massacres and plunderings have so terrify'd the states,
 To preserve their lives and property they open wide their gates.
 Long may Old England, &c.

Then their good friends in England rejoice at the news,
 And another fifty thousand goes for blankets, coats and shoes :
 A hundred thousand sacks of flour these soldiers brave to hearten,
 While we at home must buy our loaves at sevenpence a quatern.
 Long may Old England, &c.

But orders are given now, by those in high command,
 That no more corn or flour shall be shipp'd from out this land ;
 That our poor may not want bread, and be famishing with hunger,
 Whilst French soldiers are brought over our towns for to plunder.
 Long may Old England, &c.

For when into winter quarters the French do retire,
 Of providing for such numbers their Flemish friends will tire ;
 For the sake of pudding here the rogues would soon come over,
 And our patriots would all subscribe to land them safe at Dover.
 Long may Old England, &c.

What

What a dinner they'd provide for their friends the mounseers,
 Good beef and good pudding with plenty of strong beer.
 How they'd sing *Ca ira* as they march'd up to London,
 With the thoughts of good cheer, and the hopes of good plund'ring.
 Long may Old England, &c.

How would Englishmen brook to behold such disasters;
 The men they've beat so often, brought here to be their masters.
 " You must all become French citizens, we've told you our plan,
 " Or we'll cut all your throats to enforce the Rights of Man."
 Never may Old England behold such brutality,
 Liberty and property, and no equality.

Would these Friends of the people but look about at home,
 To bestow their kind charities, so far they need not roam.
 A hundred thousand sacks of flour, with blankets, coats and shoes,
 A hundred thousand would bless them for, and be joyful at the news.
 Long may Old England be fam'd for hospitality,
 Liberty and property, and no equality.

Let no knaves us allure, nor no French us command,
 While our property is secure by the laws of the land.
 In planting poles of liberty let's scorn to bear a part,
 For liberty's engrav'd on each true British heart.
 Long may Old England possess good cheer and jollity,
 Liberty and property, and no equality.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER III.

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*The Plot found out;—The Frenchman and Englishman.—
The Labourer and the Gentleman.—English Freeholder's
Catechism.*

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PRICE, ONE PENNY.

THE PLOT FOUND OUT;

A Dialogue between three Members of the Jacobin Club in France.

First Jacobin. WELL met brother citizen, I think at our last committee, that we proved ourselves fit to govern the universe; for by making the king our prisoner, we can possess ourselves of all his property; and the plan that was laid of massacring the prisoners, and those that are rich, whose assistance we do not want, or that we have any doubt are likely to flinch, will cause such a general terror that thousands will fly the kingdom, and in such haste that they will not have time to carry any property away with them, and what ready money they have they will give to obtain passports: we shall make a fine sum even before they are gone by that means; they will think many of them of soon returning, but we have agreed, that we will seize their property, which will make us the richest body of men in Europe. I mean we who consider ourselves as the heads of the club, for the others shall have but a flimsy account.

A

And

And as to the nation, we can easily deceive them ; for if a small part of what we seize is expended for the service of the state ; we shall not be suspected, and for a time we can conceal our wishes so as to guard against suspicion.

Second Jacobin. It is a glorious deep laid plot; and by eternally talking of liberty, equality, and the majority of the people, we so gull the fools, that we shall encrease our party every day.—If the jugglers did not talk so much, they could never shew their tricks without being found out.—The wisest thing we ever did was driving all those priests, who were true Christians, out of the kingdom.—I hate a Christian ; their religion teaches them to honour their king, and to submit to all who are in authority over them, and bear no malice or envy in their heart. We worship men who have done all in their power to abolish all religion ; we cannot bring the people to our purposes if they fear God and honour the king ; to abolish both at once was absolutely necessary—and what a glorious harvest shall we have if we can blind the infernal English !—We shall be fools indeed if we leave them a shilling to bless themselves with ; part of their riches shall go to defray the expences of our wars, which will make our people fight like devils, when they know it comes out of that cursed island. Our club has long had an eye on Old England ; they shall soon know that a Frenchman will no longer live on soup-meagre—No, no, it shall be the Englishman's turn ; and not even those who we have there as our emissaries, shall be spared ; for the fools we have gulled to assist, we will treat as such, when our club have succeeded in possessing themselves of the government. We will compleatly clip their wings, for we may make a massacre more general then ; send once our own blood hounds that have been so long in practice, and I warrant in a little time, there shall scarce be any man left alive, that wishes to recover their country, when they have found that we have deceived them.

For at first we shall pretend that it is out of love to the English we came there ; for you never can impose on a man compleatly, unless you make him believe you are his friend ; they are easily duped, and will not give themselves time to reflect ; that so far from being changed in regard of our hatred to them, our making them discontented under their present government, is paving the way for their compleat ruin as an independent nation. We do nothing by halves ; our plans are deep ; we must not stop till we have got all the English gold in our country—they have possessed it long enough—we will make them begin the world again under their French masters ; and I hope to live to see the day when that island, which was once so rich, shall

shall not have a man in it that will not bow to a Frenchman for a morsel of meat.—I enjoy the thought, and am like the rest of our club; for we have long envied the English, and hate those proud devils for having possessed liberty for so long a time. The period, is I hope, not far off, when we shall exert the utmost of our power to make slaves of them. If we get the upper hand, they shall soon feel that we are their masters. Why, a poor Englishman would weigh more than two Frenchmen. I suppose you have paid all your debts; for every man I owed money to I slightly hinted to our mob that he was a man that would probably be against us, and they soon hung him up. I believe most of our members adopted my scheme, for there was no bearing to be dunn'd by *tradesmen*, or those that had lent us money; and if they did not, it was a mortification to meet a man that could say he had trusted us, when they had no great chance of being paid. I hate those that think I am obliged to them. Let us swear that those Englishmen who we have in pay, and are doing all they can to sell their country to us, and to make their fellow subjects come into the *trap* we have laid for them; I say, let such, when they have done our work, be to a man exterminated, for they will never think they have been sufficiently paid for their services, and we can never trust them; and by that means we may get great part of the money back we have paid; their charges have been too great, but at this time we cannot dispute them. This is my thought, and I value myself on it; and I know in due time we shall have it in our power to adopt it.

Third Jacobin. I thank you; such a head as yours is worth fifty of those fellows' who make objections, and say that they never go to bed without having the most frightful dreams; such as graves sending forth their dead; and they think, if we fully execute our plan in regard to the King, and the massacre which we shall make of the princes and others without number, that the money which we shall gain will not make amends for the horror of our minds; and they tremble to think what our feelings must be when we have done the bloody deed; for if we pursue the whole of what we propose, we shall have been the cause of the most general destruction ever known of the human species; and when it is said that those which we shall drive from our country will probably perish for want; and that England has always possessed so good a government, so much liberty, and such excellent laws, that we shall never persuade that nation to drive their good king from his throne to save a sum which to the bulk of the people is a trifle indeed; and that all he receives from the rich comes into the

tradesmen's pockets, and the poor manufacturers ; and that Paine is considered by every person who is not ignorant in England, as only tempting the people to destruction, that he may come and swindle them out of their money (he learned all these tricks when he served on board a privateer) ; when I hear men talk in this manner, I keep my eye on them ; and I think, when a proper opportunity offers, they shall pay dear for it. I suppose you and I shall be the chief persons employed in the massacres : if we are, we will make bloody work of it. And the Mayor is quite one of us : if he gets the royal family in his power, they shall suffer more than any persons ever did in an inquisition ; for he, and his director, the once great duke, have hearts of stone, just suited for the purposes they are wanted. If they were to pray, it would be to the devil ; such men do not flinch though they keep in the back ground ; their heads are always at work. They pretend to love the English, though they broil with envy at their prosperity, and at the quiet and happiness they enjoy ; they wish to see their pride humbled ; and if their plan and ours succeeds we shall make them a beggarly set. The Englishmen shall work, and the Frenchmen have the money. They have had liberty too long ; they shall be our slaves ; and we will do all in our power that the people may join in bringing themselves into our trap : no bird-catcher understands the art of decoying better than we do ; and I hope we shall catch them in our net, and that the majority of the French will be universal. We must, if we get into England, not shew our intention till we have got them fully in our power : most people lose all by shewing their intentions too soon ; and we must not spare money ; now is the time to be lavish ; we shall have it back with millions for interest.

THE ENGLISHMAN AND FRENCHMAN.

A SAUCY, artful, chattering Frenchman, met an honest Englishman the other day, and began to boast (as Frenchmen always do) of the fine things they have been doing in France ; how they had put the king in prison, murdered a great many gentlemen, burnt their houses, and plundered their estates ; how they had got rid of law and justice ; how they had robbed the church, massacred the clergy, and so forth. He then said, he hoped we should do just the same in England ;
for,

for, says he, the French are resolved that all the world shall follow their example. The good and kind-hearted Englishman was surpris'd and shocked at the horrid cruelty and wickedness which the French take so much delight in; but when he found they wanted to make other people as bad as themselves, he grew exceeding angry, and began the following conversation.

Englishman. You are a parcel of impudent coxcombs to pretend you will give the law to all the world; but do you think, Monsieur, that all the world will be fool enough to let you?

Frenchman. Yes! and you would think so too if you knew the pains we take. When we are strong enough to conquer any nation, we send an army there without any ceremony, and settle the business at once: but if we are at all afraid of meeting with our match, we try to gain our ends by cunning. So we send spies all about the country, and persuade the people to be discontented, and to rise against their lawful governors.

Englishman. I suppose then, Monsieur, you have sent a great many of your spies to England; for you know we are always an over-match for you at fair fighting; and the only way you could ever do us any harm, was by your shifts, and slight-of-hand tricks.

Frenchman. Don't be angry now; we only want you to turn Frenchmen, and to have liberty, equality, and no king.

Englishman. But I tell you we love the king; we have as much liberty as any *honest* man can wish for; and as to equality, we have a much better sort of equality than you have: for here in England, the first nobleman of the land, and the lowest chimney-sweeper, are *equally* subject to the law, and *equally* protected by it; and that is more than you can say in France. As to turning Frenchman, I believe you mean to affront me by proposing it; for I despise the French; and I had rather be an English plough-boy, than Mayor of Paris. But I'll tell you what, Monsieur; I see very plainly what you would all be at; you are playing your sly tricks again: I know very well you envy the power and prosperity of Old England; and because you dare not attack us openly, you want to set us by the ears together, to make us quarrel amongst ourselves, and cut our own throats; but, believe me, we are not such fools: We know the French too well to trust them, or to think they mean us any good. What, in the name of wonder, should *we* make a revolution for? to please *you*, I suppose; for I can think of no other reason. We have no grievances that I hear of; no-

body is oppressed in England ; or if any one *should* be injured, the law will right him. We are well at present, and we design to keep so. If we drove away the rich men, what would become of all the poor ? Who would there be to pay the parish rates ? Who would there be to maintain the Hospitals and Infirmaries where so many people get cured for nothing when they are sick, or when they meet with bad accidents ? You have no such thing in France as our laws for the relief and maintenance of the poor ; you have no such thing in France as our public charities, and our county hospitals ; but we who have them know their value, and we do not choose to run the risk of losing them. If all the rich were gone, the poor would get no employment, and would soon be in want of bread ; the farmer would never be sure of his farm, nor of his crops, for a day together ; the manufacturers would all be ruined, for there would be nobody to buy their goods ; in short, the whole island would be torn to pieces. None but rogues wish to overturn the laws, for every body else would lose by it ; none but wicked and abandoned criminals could wish to destroy religion, for to every body else it is full of hope and comfort. No doubt we have some troublesome and bad men, and you are very welcome to take them all to France, if you have not enough of them already : but, thank God ! we have also a great many *honest* men who are resolved to maintain the laws ; and a great many *good* men who will not part with their religion.

Frenchman. I thought Englishmen loved liberty, and never would be slaves.

Englishman. Take my word for it, Monsieur, we never will be slaves to France ; and as to liberty, you talk very finely about it ; but you don't know what it means. Your's is the liberty of murderers and house-breakers, the liberty of cutting your neighbour's throat, and taking away his purse : our English liberty is a very different and a much better thing ; it is the liberty of enjoying our own in peace and safety, and of doing what we please, provided we do no harm to any body else."

Frenchman. Well, I only meant to advise you as a friend.

Englishman. We desire none of your friendship nor advice : we don't want you to tell us whether we are free and happy : if any thing was the matter with us, we should find it out by ourselves, and set it to rights without your assistance. The truth is, you have ruined your own country, and now you persuade us to ruin ours ; just like the fox that advised all the other

other foxes to cut off their tails because he had lost his own tail in a trap. Don't we know that the French are always treacherous and deceitful? don't we know that they have been at the bottom of almost all the troubles that have happened in the world, and especially in old England? don't we know that they hate us, and fear us, and envy us; and are always watching for opportunities to plague and hurt us? therefore, Monsieur, I tell you once again, that we cannot trust you; we suspect your pretended friendship and your fair speeches, and desire to have nothing at all to do with you.

Frenchman. But though you won't believe *me*, you may believe Tom Paine, for he is an Englishman.

Englishman. *He*, an Englishman! no, no, he has forfeited that title long ago. I know he was *born* in England, but that only makes him worse, for he has been a traitor to his native country, and always working hard to trouble us. Did not he first of all run away for debt? Did not he go to America, and take part with the enemies of poor old England, and do us all the mischief he was able there? Not content with that, did not he come back, and try to make riots here at home? Is not he at last turned *Frenchman*? and is not he as spiteful, and wicked, and raving mad as any of you? We should be mad too if we trusted such a rogue as that.

Frenchman. You won't venture to talk in this manner when we come over to England with fifty thousand soldiers.

Englishman. Oho! you threaten us, do you? Pray, Monsieur, bring an hundred thousand, if you like it; the English desire no better fun than to drub you into good behaviour, as we have often done before. And I'll tell you what; if any of you are left alive after your drubbing, we'll send you to the convicts at Botany Bay, where you will find honester and quieter people than yourselves. In the mean time, Monsieur, let me advise you to get back to your French frogs and soup meagre; for I give you warning, that if I ever catch you playing your tricks again, and trying to make a disturbance here, I'll take you before a justice, and shew you the inside of an English jail.

D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN

A LABOURER AND A GENTLEMAN.

Gent. **W**HO is that man, John, whom I have seen talking so long to you and your partners?

John. I never saw him before, Master; but he is a fine spoken gentleman; he has told us a great many things we never knew, or thought on before. He said, as how, that all mankind are born equal, are equal, and ought to be equal; and that no one should be richer or poorer than another—and that the constitution and the laws wanted *reformation* and *alteration*; and a great deal of the like; and then he gave us this book to read; its called, he said, the Rights of Men; was not that very kind in a stranger?

Gent. Very unkind, John.

John. How so, Master?

Gent. Because, John, he gave you that book, in hopes it might make you dissatisfied with your situation, which is not doing kindly by you, John. But come, John, let you and I have a little conversation about what this man has said to you; you and I have known one another many years; I have always endeavoured to serve you, and therefore you cannot suppose I would mislead you; you know nothing of that fine spoken gentleman, as you call him, but from what he says; and I'll prove to you he has told you a great many lies. In the first place, he talked, you say, about all mankind being equal. Pray, John, how happened it that you let your good woman cuff you so the other day, when you had been making too free with Farmer Hearty's ale; with those filts of yours, John, you might have made her quiet.

John. Yes, Master; but who would lift up his hand against a woman; that's not a fair match, Master.

Gent. Right, John—Women and men, John, then you see are not equal—and pray, John, how old is this lad of yours?

John. Three, Master.

Gent. And this other, John; he is the stoutest—

John. Two, Master: but the eldest was always a puny little fellow from his birth; the other as strong as a horse.

Gent. Then men are not born equal you find, John—and
now

now tell me how you came off at the boxing match, John ; who beat, Tom Clodpole, or you ?

John. I Master ; all hollow—Tom has no chance with me.

Gent. Don't brag too much, John ; you some times have the worst of it.

John. O Master, you mean when I fought Ben the butcher ; but Ben is as strong again as I am.

Gent. Why then, John, you allow that Tom is not equal to you, nor you equal to Ben ; and now friend, John, one question more. Do you think, John, you could speak as well as Justice Worthy did the other day from the Bench ?

John. No, Master, to be sure not, though I had studied all my life ; why he spoke for a full hour without a book—When I want to jobe the children, I can hardly find words to do it, or remember what it is I want to say. Our Joan beats me there ; she can talk almost as fast as his Worship did, though not so much to the purpose.

Gent. Well then, John, you see it's all false what the fine gentleman said about mankind being equal. The truth is, mankind are naturally unequal ; are born unequal ; do, and must, live unequal ; unless they would live like savages—Women are weaker than men ; one man is weaker than another : one man is wiser than another. What a silly fellow this fine-spoken gentleman must be.

John. Why to be sure he seems to be wrong there—but he was right surely, Master, when he said it would be better, if there were no poor ; if the rich were to divide their money with the poor ; and so all be equal in that respect.

Gent. And what share, John, would you have ?

John. Nay, Master, I don't know ; but enough not to be forced to work ; and to have a hot dinner and white bread every day.

Gent. And where would you get your dinner, John ?

John. At the butcher's and baker's.

Gent. Hold, John ; you forget, if all are equal, the butcher and baker won't work any more than you.

John. Why then I'll go to the farmer, and buy a fat sheep and a comb of wheat, and kill and bake for myself

Gent. No, John, that won't do ; the farmer will have no sheep or wheat to sell ; his labourers will be all equal to him, and you ; and like you will chuse to have a hot dinner and white bread, without working for it. Thus you see, John, if all men were equal, the business of the world could not go on.

John. I believe you are right, Master ; but if there must be rich

rich and poor, I hope there is no sin in wishing I had been born rich, and not poor,

Gent. Why, John, if it's not a sin, it's at least a folly; for why do you wish you had been born rich.

John. Because then I should have been happier than I am now.

Gent. That I doubt, John.

John. Sure, Master, if I could afford to live as the 'Squire does, and to have every day a great dinner, with plenty of ale and wine, I should be happier than living as I do, and obliged to work hard, to earn bread and cheese. I envy the 'Squire every time I hear his dinner bell.

Gent. It was only yesterday he told me he envied you.

John. That's likely indeed; what 'Squire Wealthy envy a poor labouring man like me?

Gent. Yes, John, he does, and with more reason than you envy him; for you must know, John, that his fine clothes, and houses, and carriages, and servants, give him no pleasure at all; he is soured to them; what one is constantly used to, affords one little satisfaction; that drab coat of your's, John, it gives you no pleasure to look at it now; that you have worn it six months, yet the first Sunday you had it, I remember you seemed quite proud of it,

John. Why that's true, Master; and as to fine clothes, I would not give a fig for them; if a man can keep himself decent and warm, its enough; and as to carriages, and servants, and horses, I hope never to be carried while I can walk; and I should hate to have fine powdered fellows waiting on me; but then a nice soft bed when one's tired: they say, the 'Squire sleeps on down.

Gent. Nay, John, when one's tired one soon falls asleep, and then what signifies the bed—I dare say, when once you are in bed, you soon forget what the bed is made of; but the poor 'Squire tells me he never sleeps two hours together.

John. What hinders him?

Gent. Why between you and I, John, good living and idleness bring upon the rich themselves, and often too upon their children, the gout, and many other disorders, which the poor never have, which torment them all day, and won't let them sleep at night; so what with them, and the cares which their riches occasion, they are often rather objects of pity than envy—and as to eating and drinking, as they never wait till they are hungry or dry, they do not know the pleasure of eating or drinking; they sit down to table without appetite, and would swallow

swallow nothing, if it were not for high sauces. You don't want such, John.

John. No, Master—hunger's the best sauce, they say; and to be sure, when I get to my bread and cheese and beer, it relishes mainly, though I can't afford the best.

Gent. Yes, John, and much better than all the 'Squire's venison and turtle; he told me the other day he would give half he was worth, if he could eat his dinner as heartily as he saw you eat your luncheon under the hedge.

John. If that's the case, Master, I would not change with the 'Squire; for to be sure though my coat is coarse it keeps me warm, and what can his do more? and I feeds heartily, and sleeps as sound as a top; and, thank God, I have good health and good spirits, and so have my wife and children; and should it please God to visit us with sickness, the parish will take care of us; his worship can make them do that.

Gent. So he will, John; and believe me, my good friend, every condition has its comforts and must have some discomforts. There are poor people happy, as well as rich people happy; poor people miserable, and rich people miserable; and in my opinion the poor have the best chance for happiness of the two, and therefore it's folly in them to be discontented and envy the rich, who at the same time, perhaps, envy them.

John. Why, Master, this seems all very clear.—But what's your opinion as to the Constitution and the laws; don't you think they want altering and reforming?

Gent. Of that, John, you shall judge for your self.—Suppose 'Squire Wealthy should lay his horse-whip over your shoulders for not finishing your work so soon as he expected.

John. The Squire knows better than that; ne'er a 'Squire or Lord of them all dare strike me, poor tho' I am.

Gent. Why not, John?

John. Why not, Master, because I take the law of 'em if they did; I'd go to Vellum, the lawyer in our town; and they then must be tried; and I warrant the jury would make them smart for it: the jury are honest men, and would see a poor body righted; they don't care a pin about great men, not they.

Gent. Well, John, then you see the law and constitution can protect your person; you don't want it altered in that part of it?

John. No, Master, God forbid it should.

Gent. Amen, John.—And now one question more.—Suppose the 'Squire should take a fancy to your wife, or your daughter,

daughter, or any thing else that belongs to you, and order his servants to take it out of your cottage?

John. No fear of that, Master—an Englishman's house is his castle; neither his servants, nor he, nor the king himself, dare enter my cottage without my leave, nor touch the smallest thing in it.

Gent. You are right, John; and now, John, I'll ask you, as you find your person and property is secured by the constitution and the laws, do you think the fine spoken gentleman was right, when he said they ought to be changed.

John. Right, Master! no to be sure, I see he wanted to make a fool of me and my neighbours; let him take care how he comes amongst us again. But pray, Master, if I may be so bold, how comes it as the laws and constitution are so good, that so many people seem to wish for alteration?

Gent. Why, John, some men are deceived, as you might have been, by designing and artful people; others are ambitious, and wish to overturn the present constitution, and place themselves at the head of a new one; others are idle, wicked, desperate men, who won't work; and by talking of alteration and reformation, hope to make confusion and riots, and to rob and plunder the quiet and industrious. Such men are always endeavouring to collect a mob in order to persuade silly people to join them in their bad designs; and they send people about the country to talk of The Rights of Man, and Equality, and Reformation, in hopes to make people discontented, and as idle as themselves; and then they give them books for the same purpose, written by one Tom Paine, a stay-maker, (a pretty fellow to understand politics, and the same people talk about France, and what is doing there. That's nothing to us, John; if they had a bad constitution, and a bad king, I am sorry for them; we have a good constitution and a good king, (God bless him) and if we are not content, its very wicked in us, and we should deserve to be as miserable as the poor French are now. Good, day John.

John. Good day, Master; and thank you for all you have said, which has made me quite easy again.

THE ENGLISH FREEHOLDER'S CATECHISM.

" IT is time that all who desire to be esteemed good
 " men, and to procure the peace, the strength, and the
 " glory of their country, by the only mean by which
 " they can be procured effectually, should ASSOCIATE
 " to heal our national divisions, and to change the
 " narrow spirit of party, into a diffusive spirit of
 " PUBLIC BENEVOLENCE."

BOLINGBROKE.

THE comprehensive and discerning mind of the illustrious politician, from whose pen this exhortation proceeded; his deep and accurate knowledge of the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION; the integrity of sentiment with which the power of truth and the spirit of philosophy at length compelled him to disclose those political axioms, which he had before prostituted to the power of a party or sacrificed to his private ambition; but above all the similarity of the present times to those in which he wrote, must give great weight to his political opinion. Having described the excellence of the English Constitution, he professes, that in his opinion, the duty to our country is next to our duty to God; and in order to spread a sense of it into as many hands as possible at a juncture when the secret machinations of a forlorn and desperate faction, were holding private correspondencies with the court of the Pretender, for the purpose of fomenting an insurrection in the country, he felt an obligation to circulate such parts of the "*The English Freeholder's Catechism*" as immediately related to the British Constitution, and the liberty of the subject. The author of this excellent tract is well known; but as the sound and important truths which it contains seems of late to have been buried in the multiplicity of those fanciful and unfounded theories with which interested men have attempted to insult the understandings of Englishmen, we shall, to favour the objects of THE ASSOCIATORS of Great Britain, endeavour to extract its most prominent features, for the information of the public.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BRITISH FREEHOLDER'S POLITICAL CATECHISM.

Q. WHO are you?

A. I am a Freeholder of Great Britain.

Q. What privilege enjoyest thou by being a Freeholder of Great Britain?

A. By

A. By being a Freeholder of Great Britain, I am a greater man, in my civil capacity, than the greatest subject of an arbitrary prince ; because I am governed by *laws* ; and my life, my liberty, and my property cannot be taken from me but according to those laws : I am a free man.

Q. Who gave thee this liberty ?

A. No man gave it me ; it is inherent and was preserved to me, when lost to the greatest part of mankind, by the wisdom of God, and the valour of my ancestors, freeholders of this realm.

Q. Wilt thou stand fast in this liberty whereunto thou art born and intitled by the laws of thy country ?

A. Yes, verily, by God's grace, I will ; and I thank his good Providence that I am born a member of a community governed by *laws* and not by *arbitrary power*.

Q. What dost thou think incumbent upon thee to secure this blessing to thyself and posterity ?

A. As I am a Freeholder, I think it incumbent upon me to believe aright concerning the fundamental articles of the government to which I am subject ; to write, speak, and act upon all occasions conformably to this orthodox faith ; to oppose, with all the powers of my body and mind, such as are *enemies of our Constitution*, together with all their secret and open abettors ; and to be obedient to the KING, the supreme magistrate of the society.

Q. Rehearse unto me the articles of thy political creed ?

A. I believe that the supreme or legislative power of this realm, resides in the King, the Lords, and the Commons ; that his Majesty, King George, is sovereign, or supreme executor of the law ; to whom, on that account, all loyalty is due ; that each of the three members of the legislature are endowed with their particular rights, and offices ; the King has the power of appointing the time and place of the meeting of the parliament ; that the consent of King, Lords, and Commons, is necessary to the being of a law ; that all the three make but one legislature ; that as to the freedom of consent in making laws, those three powers are independent ; and that each and all the three are bound to observe the laws that are made.

Q. Why is the legislature's power supreme ?

A. Because what gives law to all, must be supreme.

Q. What meanest thou by loyalty to the King ?

A. I have heard say that *loy* signifies *law* ; and loyalty, obedience according to law ; therefore he who pays obedience to the laws is a loyal subject ; and that he who executes even the Kings

Kings commands, when contrary to law, is disloyal, and a traitor.

Q. The King of England, then, is not above the laws?

A. By no means; for the intention of the government being the security of the lives, liberties, and properties of the members of the community, they never can be supposed by the law of nature to have an arbitrary power over their person and estates. King is a title, which, translated into several languages, signifies a *magistrate*; and he can have no power but what is given him by law.

The BRITISH FREEHOLDER proceeds to exhibit those scenes of faction, tumult, anarchy, and bloodshed, which were introduced by changing the form of the ancient governments, and which finally occasioned their fall; illustrating his remarks by instances of the imperfection of *republics*, and the superior advantages of *limited monarchy*, until he returns to the following dialogue.

Q. What would'st thou do for thy country?

A. I would die to procure its prosperity; and I would rather that my posterity were cut off, than that they should be slaves; but as Providence at present requires none of these sacrifices, I content myself to discharge the ordinary duties of my station, and to exhort my neighbours to do the same.

Q. What are the duties of your station?

A. To endeavour, as far as I am able, to preserve the public tranquillity; and, as I am a Freeholder, to give my vote for the candidate whom I judge most worthy to save his country; for if from any partial motive I should give my vote to one unworthy, I should think myself justly chargeable with his guilt.

These are sentiments becoming every good member of the Constitution of Great Britain. Let them be compared with the visionary notions, and impracticable schemes of republicans and levellers. The former, like the auspicious eagle, bring tidings of prosperity to the commonwealth; while the latter, like a croaking raven, bode nothing but misery and mischief.

SONG.

S O N G.

By Mr. PAINE.

COME, good fellows all—Confusion's the toast,
 And success to our excellent Cause:
 As we've nothing to lose, lo, nought can be lost;
 So perdition to Monarchs and Laws!

II.

France shews us the way—an example how great;
 Then, like France, let us stir up a riot;
 May our names be preserved by some damnable feat,
 For what but a wretch would lie quiet!

III.

As we are poor rogues, 'tis most certainly right,
 At the doors of the rich ones to thunder;
 Like the thieves who set fire to a dwelling by night,
 And come in for a share of the plunder.

IV.

Whoever for mischief invents the best plan,
 Best murders; sets fire and knocks down,
 The thanks of our Club shall be given to that man,
 And hemlock shall form him a crown.

V.

Our Empire has tow'r'd with a Lustre too long,
 Then blot out this wonderful Sun;
 Let us arm then at once, and in confidence strong,
 Complete what dark Gordon begun.

VI.

But grant a defeat—we are hang'd, and that's all,
 A punishment light as a feather;
 Yet we triumph in Death, as we Catalines fall,
 And go to the Devil together.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER IV.

CONTAINING

*Ten Minutes Reflection on the late Events in
France — Equality, as consistent with the
British Constitution.*

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Ware-
house*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill; J. DEBRET, Piccadilly; and
HOOKHAM and CARPENTER, Bond-Street.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

TEN MINUTES REFLECTION ON THE LATE EVENTS IN FRANCE.

SOME time ago I used the freedom to address to you a very short plain Paper, under the title of "Ten Minutes' Caution," against some Doctrines which Mr. Thomas Paine and others were at great pains to inculcate. To any man who had leisure to think on the subject, and was disposed to think impartially, I believe that Caution was not very necessary. The present Paper stands perhaps more in need of an Apology; it were indeed scarcely possible to imagine, that any rational person who had heard of the late Events in France could be insensible to the feelings they must raise in every honest heart, or the reflections they must cause in every sound mind, did we not still see examples of individuals and Societies wicked or mad enough to countenance those proceedings, and to hold out to their Countrymen the same sort of Doctrines by which all this mischief in our neighbouring Country

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try

try has been occasioned. I believe those Persons and Societies to be as despicable in themselves, as their doctrines are pernicious ; yet I hope, my Friends and Fellow-Citizens, you will forgive my anxiety, if while they are trying to mislead you by Falsehoods and Mis-representations, I wish to mention to you a few Reflections, which must, I think, strike every man of common sense and common honesty, on the present situation of that unhappy Country.

I believe those Advocates for the French Revolutions (for, as might have been expected, they have not been contented with one, will hardly venture to shock British humanity by vindicating the Barbarities of the Mob of Paris, though some of the Newspapers, known by the name of Opposition Papers, have published what they call Apologies and Palliations of them. It will be difficult, I think, even at the Old Bailey, to find Readers who can excuse murdering hundreds in cold blood, carrying their heads on Pikes, mangling their bodies, and acting such horrible and beastly cruelties as none but Cannibals were ever supposed to practice. These are not the Writings, therefore, which any who knows the People of Great Britain will think it necessary to answer. But there are some men more artful in their attempts to mislead you ; who blame those Barbarities, but vindicate the Doctrines and Principles by which they have been caused. It is of such Principles, that a very little reflection on what has passed during the last three years in France will, I think, sufficiently teach us to beware.

I am no Philosopher, my Friends ; but it seems plain enough to any man of common understanding, that in any country that has been civilized or governed at all, setting up the new and chimerical system of the Rights of Men as the rule of public conduct, is bidding farewell to any thing like Government or Law, Order, Peace, or Security. In any Society, except Government has power, no man can be free ; because freedom in my neighbour to do me wrong, may be Liberty to him, but it is Tyranny to me. Such has been the state of France for some time past : yet they have told us France was free all the time, because the Tyrants that imprisoned, robbed, and murdered the people ; were not Kings or Nobility, but were, on the contrary, what they call Sans Culottes, which may be translated the Tatterdemallians of Paris, the very scum of the earth.

In every Society, except in the very woods of the Savages, Property and Rank must be unequal, though the happiness they afford are more equal, I believe, than we are sometimes apt

apt to imagine. The security of that happiness is the great point; if that is taken away, the value of the greatest and the least is equally destroyed. The only persons who can then have enjoyment in any thing, will be those few desperate and abandoned men, who are too idle to have got any property of their own, and too worthless to have any consideration for their Neighbours or Fellow-Creatures.

When people talk of Equality, which is a word much in vogue of late, I am afraid they generally think only of being equal to those who are now above them, not of those who are now below them becoming equal to themselves. Depend upon it, the desire of Levelling will be at least as strong in the lower rank as in any of those above it. If Tradesmen think it fair that they should be equal to Lords, (God knows they are generally much happier) their Workmen will themselves be equally entitled to be on a par with them! and the honest workman who now brings up his family decently and comfortably on the profits of his labour, does not perhaps reflect, that on this new plan of Equality, the sturdy ruffian who now begs a halfpenny from him at the corner of the street, may chuse to eat the dinner he has provided for his wife and children, or to knock him down with his crutch, if he refuses his consent to that proposal. The only man who can gain on this Plan, is he who has nothing to lose; and they will probably get uppermost, who risk nothing if they should fall. Such has been the case in France. The Sans Culottes, the naked Blackguards, have been in truth the Rulers of that miserable Country. You know that in defiance of the pretended Government of the National Assembly, these worthy gentlemen took upon them the disposal of the Lives and Properties of their Fellow-Citizens, and after having amused themselves (thocking as the word is, I use it seriously) with murder one day, went about the next, stopping every decent person in the streets, and took from them whatever part of their property or apparel they thought worth taking. The National Assembly wrote high flown Decrees against this in vain; they would scarcely indeed wonder at what was a natural consequence of the rule of Equality and the Rights of Men, for which their Philosophers had written as high flown Decrees before.

But, say our Reforming Writers and Societies, we do not mean in any degree to give birth to such anarchy and disorder: We mean only to make Government what it ought to be—an Instrument for the Good of the People. So said the first Reformers of France, and many of them, I believe, said it sincerely,

cerely, which is more than my knowledge of some of our Reformers will allow me to believe of them. But have things in France turned out as those best of the Revolutionists expected? Would they not have shuddered to think, that such Assassinations and Massacres as have deluged Paris, and some other Towns in France with blood, could possibly happen in any land where common Reason or Humanity existed? Such, however, have been the effects of letting loose, under the idea of Reformation, a spirit of Revolution, and of contempt for Order and Good Government. Suffer People once to shake off established Government, and fanciful men to propose visionary theories in its stead, and the greatest injustice and misrule will infallibly ensue.

It is, I fancy, not an easy matter, even for the wisest and the most virtuous men to make a Government for a Nation. The old established Government, which is called the Constitution, comes on by degrees, as necessity requires, and as the situation of the people admits. But if the greatest Philosopher, or a set of the greatest Philosophers, sit down in their studies, without that necessity, to invent or to mend a Constitution, it is a thousand to one they make a bungling piece of work of it. I am a Plain man, and therefore may be excused a homely Simile: If any of us wished to have a Coat made, I think we should hardly say to our neighbour the Taylor, who had served us well for many a year, "You are a Bungler at your Trade, and I will not employ you any longer; you follow the old vulgar practice of taking measure, which I am now too wise to submit to; I am to send for the Professor of Anatomy, who knows how a man is made by Nature, and he shall cut my coat for me of that perfect pattern which becomes it." I really think the French Philosophers have acted just as ridiculously: in the best of them this was only Folly and Vanity; in the worst of them it was Knavery and Wickedness.

I have lived to such an age, my Friends, as to have had time to look about me with some observation, from which we can always judge, if we will not allow ourselves to be carried away by fine words. Tell me, upon recollection, have you often known any of those violent Reformers good for any thing as a Merchant, a Tradesman, or a Manufacturer? Was his business thriving, his family happy, his servants or workmen well used and comfortable? Or was he not, generally, an idle, dissipated, vapouring fellow, harsh to his wife, neglectful of his family, a bad paymaster, and an unsafe dealer? The great leaders of the French Mob were, I understand, just such
men

men as these—men of fine tongues, but black hearts, whose persons nobody regarded, and whose characters every body who knew them despised; men, in short, who never could be any thing during the peace and prosperity of a country, but who were likely to be leading men when people were to be led to villanies and crimes. The more you know of their friends and associates in Britain, the more, I believe, you will discover that they are of a piece with those in France, in their Characters as well as in their doctrines.

Mr. Paine and most of his disciples, having no property of their own to take care of, are the more disinterested, no doubt, in their great care of yours: it is your money they wish to save by a reform, which, they tell you, will greatly lessen the public expences, which under the present establishment, press so hard on the bulk of the people. I might make a short answer to this, by desiring them to tell us, if in any of those countries where the expences of Government are much smaller, there is the same comfort, the same good living, among the bulk of the people as in England? The truth seems to me to be, that in every rich and thriving country, the expences of Government must be greater than in a poor one, because offices will not be executed well and honourably, nor will those who hold them, have the respect that is necessary for executing them well, unless the salaries bear a proportion to the fortunes of the people around them. The French have become great economists in that way, and have cut down, in their short-hand manner, the salaries of different offices to a very small proportion of what they were. But what sort of people have they got to fill those offices, or how have they been executed? And even in the saving, I am told they have been sadly disappointed: according to our good old proverb, they have been penny-wise and pound foolish; it has cost them more to repair the ill-done work of their new officers, than the highest allowance which English liberality would have made for the appointments.

I have heard some of my discontented neighbours talk of the hardship there was, that such and such a great man had so much a year from the public, while the poor were so burthened as they are. Now I very much doubt, whether in fact the poor contribute any thing to the payment of those great men's salaries. I have had a good deal of experience in that line, and I believe the workman is always paid for his work according to the rate which his living costs; and the taxes and burthens that his employers pay, are laid on the price of what they sell, over and above his wages. If there is a brisk sale for what he works on, he may get higher wages; if a dull sale, he will

will get lower, or he may want work altogether. The rich men that live round us make the sale brisk, and if they have their luxuries, we have our profits from them. But as I take it, the Rights of Men, the Liberty and Equality we hear so much about, would soon set the workmen idle altogether. So I understand it has done in Paris; there indeed some of them have found other trades; they have become butchers of defenceless prisoners, grey-haired old men, and helpless women and children. In Britain, thanks be to God, we have more worthy employments; and there never was a time when industry was better rewarded, when Trade was brisker, Manufactures more flourishing, or the Country more thriving than at present. I trust it will continue so, notwithstanding all the pains our Reformers and Revolutionists take to make it otherwise. Some of them, we know, have an interest against the prosperity of this country, and are therefore excusable in point of prudence, if they set humanity and goodness (as they can easily do) out of the question. But what apology could we find for ourselves, if we should be seduced by those tempters to commit a sort of self-murder on our country? Even Satan himself did not tempt Job to suicide, till he was poor and miserable, and sick, and naked. These modern Satans have the impudence to tempt us to the same sort of crime, when, like Job in his first state, our substance is great and increasing, when our sheep, our cattle, and our stores abound.

You will observe, my friends, that those French philosophers whom our reformers so much admire, had nothing to restrain them but the risk they might run in this world. All belief of a God and another world they had thrown entirely aside. Are you willing, my friends, to part with this faith and hope, which to every good man is the great comfort of his life, which gives a higher relish to his prosperity, a stay and a resting place to which he can flee in adversity? Will you not scruple setting loose your families, your workmen, your customers, and your correspondents, from the awe of God and a good conscience, and of a future state of rewards and punishments? for the purposes of the French 10th of August men this conversion was, no doubt, well contrived; they had overthrown the law and the government; they had only to efface the remaining check, the Deity, from the minds of their followers, and they could then be set to any thing.

I will not, my Friends, do the French Nation so much injustice as to suppose, that this madness, and wickedness, and impiety, are spread over the whole, or even any considerable part of it. I cannot bring myself to think so ill of any set
of

of human beings. But that is just the misfortune of setting loose established Government. . . A few desperate, abandoned men will then start up, and impudently call themselves the People. The people, accustomed to have Government act for them and protect them, will sit still and submit to that handfull of Blackguards and Ruffians, and suffer more from them in one week than from almost the worst Government in a century. Remember *Æsop's Fable of the Sheep and the Dog*. The Sheep complained that the Dog fed on the milk that should have fattened their Lambs, and that he chased them very roughly if at any time they strayed from the fold. " I never eat Milk," said the Wolf, " and as I like Freedom myself, I will not restrain yours." The Dog was dismissed, and the Wolf, instead of the milk, eat up the Lambs themselves. I think there are none of us so silly as not to apply the moral to those Wolves in Sheep's cloathing, who preach up the advantages of Revolutions, and the Expence of Establishments.

It is against such men, my Friends, that I wish you to be on your guard, and to take warning by the sufferings of our Neighbours, how you listen to their arguments. Were this country even in the situation France was in formerly, (with many faults in her Government, we will allow) you see what a dreadful change for the worse the principles of such men might bring upon us. But as we are protected in our persons, safe in our property, with our country prosperous and flourishing, and every opportunity of our prospering along with her, many of our equals, rising to the greatest wealth and influence, which are open to the lowest of us all, if they have industry or abilities to attain them; while no man, however much above us, can do us the smallest injury or injustice unpunished; can we think, without abhorrence and indignation, of any arguments that would persuade us to run the risk of exchanging all those blessings for such scenes as France has lately witnessed? I leave it to yourselves (for I am no Orator) to find out words strong enough for the Wick- edness of those who use such arguments, or the Folly of those who can be misled by them.

E Q U A L I T Y,

AS CONSISTENT WITH

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION,

In a *Dialogue* between a *Master-Manufacturer* and one of his
Workmen.

Printed by Order of the HACKNEY ASSOCIATION.

Workman. **G**OOD morning, master; I am come to tell you I cannot work to-day.

Master. Why, John, what is the matter, are you ill?

W. No, thank God! but I have made an engagement, which I want to go to.

M. Consider, John, you have a wife and four children, who entirely depend upon you for support; and, if you remain idle but one day in the week, you lose one sixth part of what is to subsist you and them, and you wrong your family!

W. Ah, master! what signifies a wife and children when compared to liberty! It is to meet the friends of liberty that I am going; and, when I think of the rights of man, I never think of the wrongs of my family.

M. I find then, John, you are for the new system?

W. Yes, master! and so would you, had you read Tom Paine: he makes it quite clear that we are all born equal, and that we ought to have remained so: and that it is a shame to have kings and lords amongst a people who ought to live like brethren.

M. Indeed, John, I seldom read except in my Bible and Ledger; it is sufficient for me to mind my shop, post my books, and take care of my affairs. On Sunday, which is a day of leisure, I go to church, and am content, without perplexing myself with different doctrines, to listen to the parson of my parish, who recommends me to live in peace, and to do as I would be done by. Yet, I own, Mr. Paine's book made so much noise, that, from curiosity, I have read it, and I find nothing in it to make me alter my conduct.

W. What

W. What, master! are you an enemy to the rights of man?

M. No, John! but I am a friend to the happiness of man; and I would prevent him from exercising rights which are injurious to himself. Mr. Paine has said, that every age and generation are free; but it is not the question, whether they *may*, but whether they *ought*, in prudence to use that freedom; and whether by using it they will better themselves; and, that I may be able to judge, let me know, John, of what you and your party complain.

W. Lord, Master! why you know well enough we complain that some are too rich, that others are too poor, that the people are taxed to support the expences of the King, and that the money we labour for is taken from us, and squandered in places and pensions. We dislike lords: why should a man be a lord because his father was?—We dislike kings: why should one man be master of so many millions, who are as good as himself?—We dislike the mode of elections: why should not every man be entitled to a vote?—In short, provisions are too high, liberty is too low, and we would be free and equal, as they are in France.

M. Ah! John, these are numerous complaints and great grievances to be sure; but, that we may perfectly understand them let us examine them separately. Your first complaint is, that some are too rich, and others too poor.

W. Why don't you think so, master?

M. Indeed, John, I do not: and, though there may be some exceptions, which under no government can be prevented, I believe people in general may choose whether they will be rich or poor.

W. Why, master, I choose to be rich.

M. How, John, you choose to be rich, when you are this very day going to make holiday! You earn, John, a guinea a week, which, excluding Sundays, is three shillings and sixpence a day; and, if in every week you lose a day, you lose nine pounds two shillings a year; this, in fourteen years, would make the sum of one hundred and ninety-two pounds. I believe you will confess, that, every day you make holiday, you spend on yourself as much as you miss getting: and thus, in fourteen years, you might have saved three hundred and eighty-four pounds.

W. Ah, master! every body has not the same head for these reckonings that you have.

M. Every body, John, has nearly the same head, but every body has not the same inclinations to make use of it. The
idle

idle man, who prefers pleasure to gain, says, it is but one day, and but three shillings and six-pence lost. The frugal man, who prefers gain to pleasure, says, it is an hour, and that is three-pence farthing got. The first clamours against government because he remains poor through his own indolence and extravagance; the last is contented with it, because it secures to him the fruits of his industry and economy.

W. To be sure, master, there is some truth in that.

M. I came up to town, John, just as you did. I was the son of a small farmer, whose condition was little better than that of a common labourer. I had learned to read and write at a charity-school. I was first porter, then clerk, and afterwards partner in the house I entered into. I am now fifty years of age, and am worth thirty thousand pounds. The laws of my country secure me in the possession of it; the king dare not touch a farthing of it; I pay taxes, it is true, and they are considerable; but I pay them as a contribution for the protection of the rest of my property; heavy as they are, they certainly are not beyond the strength of the nation, since it flourishes under them; nor is my own situation singular, since the rise and condition of my neighbours have been and are nearly the same.

W. But certainly, master, you would pay less taxes if you were not to allow the king a million a year.

M. A great deal has been said about this million a year; but, though the sum sounds great, when examined it will not be found much; he pays out of it the judges, the foreign ambassadors, the secretaries of state, and other ministers. Without these no government ever attempted to stand, not even the new one of France; and, when these deductions are made, the sum will not be so enormous as you suppose.

Instead of a king, I will suppose a national assembly, as in France: the members I will fix at seven hundred and forty-five, as there; and the salaries of each at five hundred pounds per annum, a sum in proportion to what is allowed in France: Thus, John, when we had got rid of monarchy, we should still have near four hundred thousand pounds to pay, besides supporting our judges and our ministers.

W. But then, master, if you could strike off the pensions!

M. The pensions, John, are chiefly paid out of the same million; and how far, John, do you think it would be justice or policy to reduce every man to want, who has served his country bravely and faithfully. You got drunk, I remember, John, when Rodney beat the French; you then thought he and his family deserved every thing; you now wish to make his children beggars.

W. How-

W. However, master, taking away the titles would do no harm!

M. It might, John; and I am sure it would do no good. In this country, industry and frugality are the sources of every thing, and their rewards cannot be too numerous; and why should I be deprived of any distinction which accompanies those qualities?

W. You, master! why you are merry, surely: you do not expect to be made a lord?

M. Certainly I do not, John; but it is not at all improbable that my children should. I have four sons; my eldest I have bred up to my own business, and I bless God that he is diligent, sober, and frugal: my second is at the Temple, and studies the law; my third is in the army: and my fourth is in the navy. It is from such as these that lords are made: the first pursues trade, purchases lands, his son becomes an esquire, is returned to parliament, and, if he has abilities, may justly pretend to a peerage. The road of the other is more immediate: eloquence, skill, and valour, conduct them to eminence in their professions, and they are made lords by the same means that have promoted the whole house of peers; such has been the condition of all; and what has happened to them may happen to my children, and might to yours, if, instead of attending levelling meetings, you would work every day in the week.

W. Well, master; but, though your children may come to be lords they can never come to be kings; and I do not see why a particular man, whether he is wise or foolish, should be made the master of so many millions?

M. I understand you, John: you do not see any reason why the crown should be hereditary. I have already told you I do not study politics much, and I fancy that is one of the reasons that I have succeeded so well in business; for two of my neighbours, who were thought to understand as much of the affairs of Europe as most men, understood I find so little of their own, that they have become bankrupts, and I am told will not pay three shillings in the pound. Yet, though I do not study politics, those who do are so very industrious in communicating their knowledge, that I daily hear something: when any of these come to buy at my shop, they generally turn the discourse that way; and I have learned from them that there is but one crown in Europe elective, and that is the crown of Poland; and I find that the very people, who have appeared most zealous for abolishing hereditary distinctions here, have attempted to render the crown hereditary there.

You

You see, John, how one part of their conduct contradicts another; and hence, I conclude, that their principal object is to talk to themselves, or to hear others talk of them.

Nor is the king either your master or mine; he can neither make us go here or there, to do this or that: he cannot take from us a farthing; neither he nor his minister can encroach upon the liberty of the meanest Briton; and, if they do, they are subject to damages in a court of law.

W. All this, master, is very well; but why should I not vote for a member of parliament as well as you?

M. I have already told you, John, that industry and economy are in this country the source of every thing: it is by the first alone that a fortune can be made, and it is by the last alone that it can be kept. Instead of working only five days in the week, work six; and, in six years, you will have gained money enough to purchase a vote, if you please: this privilege the meanest man may soon acquire by persevering in his labours, and the richest will lose it should he be idle and spend his property. I set out without any thing, and have got a vote; and, should my son be an idle fellow and a spendthrift, in selling what I leave him, he loses his vote.

W. Then, master, from all this, I suppose you do not approve of the French revolution?

M. How often, John, must I tell you, that I seldom trouble my head about these matters; yet, if you wish to know my sentiments, I will tell you them. In the first place, I do not think there is any comparison between France and England: there were certainly great grievances in France: the king could seize the property and person of every man; he could reduce him to beggary, could confine him in prison, and take away his life. Can the king of England do any such thing? I believe, John, that you would be glad that he were to take you up without your offending against the laws; it would be a good fortune to you.

W. Why, to be sure, master, I would make him pay sauce for it.

M. Then, John, if you would make him pay sauce for it, and he can do you no injury without your having the same redress against him as you could have against any of your fellow-subjects; are you not in the eye of the law equal to the king?

W. True, master, we are so in England, but you own it was not the case in France, and therefore they were certainly right in what they did.

M. That is a different thing: it does not follow, that, if
government

government acted wrong, the people have acted right : I only know this, John, that it appears to me there never was a time when there was less right in France, and I will give you two instances of it in what has happened to myself. You remember that shop-keeper in Paris, who refused to pay me, about seven years ago, for a quantity of hardware that I sent out to him : I went to Paris, you also remember, applied to one of their courts of justice, and got my money.

W. To be sure, master, it would be very hard if every man were not paid his own.

M. Yes, John : but what has happened since.—I sent out another parcel of hardware last year, to a person at Marseilles, who also refused to pay me ; I went there to oblige him, I found there were no longer any courts of justice : I found that he was become a great patriot, a captain, John, in the national guards, and he only laughed at me, and told me, if I teized him about money, he would *denounce* me, as he called it ; and have me put in prison.

W. What, put you in prison when he owed you money ! Why master he must be a great rascal indeed !

M. This was not all, John :—to appear a little smart, I had carried with me a new coat, with handsome steel buttons ; in this I walked the streets, and was followed by some boys, who began to call out, Aristocrat, Aristocrat ! (a word which means an enemy to their constitution) ; a mob immediately surrounded me, dragged me through the street, and would have hung me on one of the ropes on which they hang their lanterns, if, luckily, my banker had not come by, rescued me from their hands, by assuring them that I was in England a great patriot, or what he called a Jacobin.

W. Lord, master, were not you frightened terribly ?

M. Certainly I was, John ; and I'll take care how I venture there again.

W. But, Master, the common people in France, such as myself, live surely better than they did ?

M. How so, John ! manufactures are at an end ; and when the master can no longer sell his commodities, he can no longer pay the journeymen.

W. Why, what becomes of them ?

M. They, John, as well as all of similar description, such as servants, labourers, and the lower class of manufacturers, are obliged to enter into the armies for bread ; they are paid fifteen pence a day, but they are paid in paper ; that paper they are forced to exchange for little more than half of the commodities that could formerly be purchased with money of the same

same amount ; they march without shoes or stockings ; and their necessities oblige them to plunder, or exact contributions from every country they enter.

W. Why, I thought, master, they carried liberty every where ?

M. It don't appear so, John, from the account that the inhabitants of Nice have presented to the national assembly, in which they complain that the French have ravished their wives and daughters, and stole their goods :—how should you like that, John ?

W. Faith, master, not at all !

M. Nor is this the only thing to be dreaded ; the farmer and labourer have left their ploughs to preach or fight for reform ; the consequence is that the ground has been uncultivated, a famine begins to appear, and all provisions are double the price of what they were before the revolution :—how should you like this, John, who complain of the price of things when bread is no dearer than it was ten or twenty years ago ? In short, John, if the French and their doctrines come here, I shall shut up my shop, and have done with business ; I shall place my money where I can most safely, and even bury it under ground, sooner than lend it to a constitution that subsists, as theirs does, by violence, and where every person, who is suspected or accused of being an aristocrat, is dragged to prison without any evidence, and is afterwards massacred by the populace. The French have always been our enemies ; and, if they once enter England, they will not forget to revenge themselves for the many times we have beaten them by sea and by land ; nor do I desire any of their equality, since, as this country now stands, I can become by industry and economy equally rich as a lord, and, while I behave myself with propriety, am equally independent as the king.

W. Right, master ! and I thank you for explaining all this to me ; and, instead of going to the liberty club, I will begin my work ; for, I should not like to see a Frenchman lie with my wife, or take the bread out my childrens' mouths ; and I now see, that, if I go on as you do, and mind my business, I may in time be as rich and as happy as you.

A WORD OR TWO OF TRUTH,

*Addressed to all Loving Englishmen, and which goes to the
good old Tune of "Derry Down."*

COME hither, dear countrymen, listen to me,
I'll cure your diseases without bribe, or fee,
And expose the vile tricks of those scoundrel French quacks,
Whose nostrums would make us their porters and hacks,
Derry down, &c. &c.

To enslave us for ages you all know they've tried,
But as often we've drubb'd them, and pull'd down their pride;
Tir'd out with their old trade before us of running,
They'd fain now cajole us with canting and cunning.

But in this as in t'other they'll find they're mistaken,
For I trust we shall ne'er be of God so forsaken,
To give this fair land to such colleagues in evil,
As that murderer Marat, Tom Stich, and the Devil.

As for vip'rous Mad Tom, he has long been our foe,
And is leagued with all Hell to entail on us woe,
Whole years in his soul has the venom been brewing,
Which he now spurts about to accomplish our ruin.

He talks of our rights, of our freedom, and good,
But his aims be assur'd are in this understood,
For he only would set us together a wrangling,
That his friends o'er the water may seize us while jangling.

The designs of their tyrants they still have in view,
Though by different methods the end they pursue,
Conceited, pragmatical, insolent, vain,
They can't bear that Britain should rule o'er the main.

Tom Pain told them once how to ruin our fleet,
'Tis this which now makes him and Monsieur so sweet,
But they and their cronies in malice and sin,
Had best catch the beast e'er they dare sell his skin,

He

He rises majestic—he stalks to the shore—
 His eyes flashing fire—terrific his roar—
 The Lion of England—how old Ocean shakes,
 As the sounds thunder o'er it at which Gallia quakes.

Our tars are true-hearted, our soldiers are brave,
 And who that is British will e'er be a slave,
 Assisted by Heav'n in so righteous a cause,
 We'll die for our King, for our Freedom, and Laws.

Unite then, dear friends, and let Freedom impart,
 Firm love of our Country to each honest heart,
 Be but true to yourselves and tho' miriads advance,
 Old England shall ne'er be a Province of France.

Jack, hand here that tankard of nut-brown old stout,
 Round with it my boys—we'll have more when 'tis out ;
 Oh curse all French cut-throats, still, still let us sing.
 While with Liberty blest—So all health to the King.

John Bull at his Monarch may now and then grumble,
 But will never permit base Seducers to Mumble,
 Like man and wife, when they jar, 'tis but Peace to restore,
 And far better to love, than they e'er did before.

Under him and his father we've flourish'd and fought,
 And we'll act my boys as true Englishmen ought,
 Our girls and our children shall chuckle around us,
 For with God on our side the whole earth cant confound us.

The French seem to scorn him, but to us he's dear,
 And while that is the case, we have nothing to fear,
 In peace then and honour may Britons still sing,
 And bless their Good God, their Old Laws, their Old King.

God bless him, and save him, and grant that he still,
 May the agent be here of thy merciful will,
 Our birthright to guard, our *true* rights to maintain,
 —Oh bless him, and bless him, and bless him again.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER V.

CONTAINING

An Antidote against French Politics—A Picture of True and False Liberty.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Warehouse*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill; J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly; and HOOKHAM and CARPENTER, Bond-Street.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

An ANTIDOTE

AGAINST

FRENCH POLITICS.

AS a plain Englishman, who am not ashamed to cherish a partiality for my own country, I cannot help being heartily disgusted with the extravagant praises which have been bestowed upon Frenchmen and their politics. We have not been used to think so highly of them as a nation, and have always flattered ourselves that we ranked much above them in every solid accomplishment that can give consequence to a people. As to generosity of heart and elevation of sentiment, we leave them at an immeasurable distance behind us. To them the contrary qualities have been generally ascribed. Rapacity and faithlessness appear upon the records of history as chargeable upon them.

A

them. A frivolous levity of character is the natural growth of France. It was the object of ridicule to our fathers; and our very children stigmatize the vain and cringing coxcomb by the name of a Frenchman. I shall perhaps be told, that these are antiquated or childish prejudices, which the liberal-minded Englishman ought to renounce. But before he renounces them, should he not inquire, whether they have been well-founded? The mere trick of words ought never to be taken in exchange for substantial and useful truths. The word liberality has been of late so crammed upon us, and so much abused by those who have it most in their mouths, that it is hard to say what it is to be liberal. But so far one may say, that it is to be more than liberal to call evil good, and good evil; to surrender every idea and every motion to be moulded by these dictators in politics; and to make our minds like a glass mirror, that shall obsequiously reflect whatever they may please to present before it.

But these prejudices with respect to our neighbours are useful, and therefore cannot with prudence be discarded by us: for, what is it that has animated our soldiers and sailors in wars with the French, when fighting against great odds, but a firmness of soul as unyielding as their native oaks, and an undebauched partiality for their country? They thought themselves superior in the dignifying virtues that deserved to be victorious; and the very consciousness ensured them victory. For my part, I never wish to see the day when these prejudices (if they are so to be called) shall lose their hold upon an English heart; for if this honest pride, this sterling patriotism, should ever crouch to the cold maxims of free-thinking Reformers, we must bid an eternal farewell to that enviable importance we now have in the scale of Europe, and even to our national independence. You may therefore very fairly, my countrymen, suspect the soundness of their hearts or their understandings, if they are Englishmen, who are studious to recommend French modes of thinking in religion and politics; and if they are Frenchmen, you may yet more absolutely conclude, that they labour to propagate their opinions among you for the worst of purposes. The doing of good to us without any left-handed view, was ever so rare a quality among them, that you cannot but question the integrity of their motives when they profess to do it.

It

It is a remark which no one has yet contested, that nations have their character; and it may be added, that this character is often preserved for ages, and through various revolutions. While we are stunned, therefore, by the praises lavished upon the people of France, let the still small voice of History be permitted to speak. We there learn, that even Antiquity noted those blemishes, which, if we are not quite infatuated, are still to be discerned in their character.

In a conspiracy which some profligate and needy men of Rome had plotted against their country, the French nation was *applied to for their support of the faction, as being notoriously fond of changes and tumults*. The great Cæsar frequently reproves their levity, and unsteadiness of principle; as also does a Roman poet of the same age. The passage in his works, which expresses it, had been appropriated to another people; but one honest Frenchman who wrote notes upon the author owns that the character better agrees with the Gaulish (*i. e.* the French) nation, who were ever inconstant, faithless, lovers of change. The great orator of those days represents them as an impious, faithless people, natural enemies to all religion, and without any notion of the sanctity of an oath. This general opinion of their impiety among the antients, originated from a story which, with very few variations, might be told with truth of those who now inhabit that country. It is related that they issued forth from their native territories in great numbers, desolating and murdering wherever they came. Allured by the richness of the Greek Temples, they disregarded *the reputed sanctity of places* for the sake of rioting in plunder; their leader observing with irreligious mockery to his followers, “that the Gods had “no need of wealth, and that they should therefore give “it to men who knew how to use it better.”—Is not this exactly the language of French Reformers, who have not left the sacred utensils of a Christian Altar unviolated by sacrilege and robbery? Errors and abuses in religion may exist; but they who begin to correct by ridiculing and trampling upon all religion, can neither be acceptable to God nor benefactors to men.

As we descend to the latter and more regular accounts of their historical character, we find ambition and perfidy almost universally prevailing in their councils. It is believed that their best and greatest sovereign, Henry IV.

had conceived a project of reducing the different States of Europe into one great Empire, and making Paris the seat of government; and that nothing but his untimely death prevented the attempt. The desire of conquest, and aggrandizing themselves at the expence of their neighbours, appeared yet more flagrant in a succeeding reign. A million of lives was sacrificed in the struggle to chastise their insolence; and had not William checked, and Marlborough, with superior skill and good fortune, humbled them by his victories, we, with other nations, might at this day have been the tributaries of France. We all of us remember too well, and even feel the effects of her late unprovoked outrage against the faith of treaties, in our unhappy contest with the American Colonies. Whatever opinions might be at home respecting the dispute, there can be but one respecting the justice of her interference. Before the French declared themselves the allies of America, the rejoicings at Paris over our losses were unbounded; and after the surrender of Burgoyne, they joined most cordially in adding to our distresses, and, like ungenerous cowards, attacked us when fallen. But the day of recompence was not far distant; and the intoxicating draughts of liberty which they then took in, have since been the poison of thousands.

And is this a people, my countrymen, that you can be brought so easily to admire, so as to admit them to your confidence and counsels? When nearly 2000 years have rolled away, and have uniformly found them marked with the same traits of character, can you be so credulous as to suppose that the last Revolution in their Government has wrought a total Revolution of Principle? Are you sure that they have rooted from their hearts those ambitious ideas which have so often embroiled the peace of Europe, and which they hypocritically affect to charge upon their sovereigns? Their conduct even now strongly indicates a design to make their neighbours the devoted slaves of the many-headed idol they have set up, their new-fangled Republic; and the project of their Henry IV. already mentioned, has again been agitated, and fondly deemed by these organizers of States to be more than ever practicable. Where then would be England, the seat of empire and the nurse of heroes? Swallowed up by the insatiate maw of this Republican Monster.

- * Time was, when it was praise and boast enough
 " In ev'ry clime, and travel where we might,
 " That we were born her children; praise enough
 " To fill the ambition of a private man,
 " That Chatham's language was his mother's tongue,
 " And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own."

But these honoured names, once so tremendous to a Frenchman's ear, with all the sacred trophies which adorn the ark of our Constitution, and all the inestimable interests of an independent people, we are called upon to offer up at the unhallowed shrine of foreign Patriotism.

But if we admit that the French have not formed any such plan (for what have they hitherto formed that is consistent?) yet their intrigues with the disaffected of other countries prove, that there is nothing honest in their designs; for all good men detest an alliance with traitors, and do not like to sully the purity of their own intentions with the foulness of theirs. It is but too plain that their unwearied industry to propagate doctrines which tend to alienate the affections of the governed from their governors, is exerted with this treacherous view, that they may either triumph in the weakness of their neighbours; or, that if they themselves should prove unsuccessful in the establishment of their own political schemes, others may be made equally wretched with themselves.

What can we say of men who call themselves Englishmen and Christians, but who associate and form confederacies with those that are enemies to England and to Christianity; and who are ready to cry out with those children of Edom, "Down with them, down with them, even to the ground?" If these men have sold themselves to be the underlings of French fanaticism and villainy, it is a depravity which can be only cured by the wholesome severity of law and justice. In all societies, however equitably governed, we are presented with this melancholy truth, that some men are always to be found who turn with disgust from the general concord of affection and duty.

Pride of heart is apt to meet with disappointment, and disappointment begets disaffection. The progress is but too easy and too common. But tell us, ye wisest of political dreamers, what Government can prevent or satisfy the claims of all such?

There are some, again, of so unfortunate a temper, as to be then most discontented when laid upon the lap of ease and security. Alarms and tumults, massacres and rapine, are sights and sounds at which they can smile. God forbid that we should have a Marat or Robertspierre among us! But they who can defend the horrid scenes of murder at which those men presided, are not far from the guilt of their crimes; and (I shudder while I say it) an English press has been employed to vindicate those butchers of their fellow-citizens. The human heart too often imposes upon itself, and rarely knows the extent of its own iniquity. The sunshine of occasion calls forth the adder, and that "craves wary walking." The wicked Hazael, when told by the Man of God of the cruelties, the devastation and murders he would afterwards commit, said, with some surprize, "What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" He thought himself hardly capable of such wickedness; but it was because opportunity had not yet given its impulse to his impetuous passions. What indeed is not to be apprehended, when we hear those who should be ministers of peace and good-will exclaim, like the revengeful Zanga in the gloomy effusion of his soul, "I like this rocking of the battlements; I ardently sigh for the destruction of states and kingdoms, that my own opinions may reign triumphant."

Are these, my countrymen, the ministering spirits of benevolence? or, Are they not the instruments of hell-born discord, who can never be gratified but by universal bloodshed and ruin? Yet to these, and such as these, under the specious idea of Reform, you are invited, nay almost compelled by never-ceasing solicitations, to submit the disposal of your property, your liberty, your lives. I believe we are all convinced that it is not the lopping off a few decayed branches, but the cutting down root and branch; that it is not Reform but Ruin which is the object of their Associations. It is time, therefore, for honest men to make a stand, while they have any ground to tread on, against all invaders of our present quiet, and all conspirators against our future safety. It not only concerns those who love their King and their Constitution, and those who are in power and opulence, but all who love to live secure from violence and protected by an impartial

partial administration of justice, to resent their insidious designs with becoming indignation.

Ask these slavish echoes of French Revolutions, what we are to imitate? It is true, that nation ejected the evil spirit of despotism; but it has returned, and finding the mansion of the State swept and garnished, has taken seven other spirits more wicked than himself to dwell in it. They demolished the Bastile, but have raised another more dreary and formidable for the unhappy man and his family, whose greatest offence seems to be that he was born to a throne. By the bye, it excites one's contempt, as well as detestation, to read the laboured cruelties of speech and the pretty turns of phrase in which they paint their rancorous hatred of regal power. They built a Constitution, "a monument forsooth of human wisdom;" but that no vestiges of wisdom might be left to reproach them, they pulled it down. Their National Assembly was deposed; the reign of equality began; and, that nothing might remain like virtue and unlike themselves, they crowded their prisons with the victims of suspicion and envy. The ruffian hands of violence were let loose to murder and destroy; beauty and innocence were dragged forth, stabbed, and trampled upon. But spare me the recital of deeds of horror which posterity will wish to have had erased from the annals of the human race. Yet these lawless inquisitors, so deeply drenched in blood, still live. Their armies are victorious, and their national representation is renewed; yet these monsters live unpunished, partake in their public councils, and even threaten to repeat their outrages. In the mean time, the iniquity of so black a complexion is permitted to walk at large, and to boast of its crimes; their National Convention pursues with unrelenting severity the fearful emigrant, whose only guilt is, that he sought for an asylum in a foreign land, at an hour of universal dismay and danger; at an hour when they themselves acknowledge the magistracy was unable to protect the lives of unoffending citizens.

Such, my countrymen, is the present precarious situation, and such the injustice and inhumanity of a people which our English Jacobins prostitute their time and honesty to defend. Through such a field of blood these wrong-headed guides would lead us in quest of a shadow, which never was realized on earth, nor will be in heaven. But indeed they know not what they aim at themselves;

they exalted into perfection the first change which the French made in their government, but that was undone; and yet our very obsequious patriots have new praises to bestow upon every succeeding change which vanity and violence can effect. Yet the truth is, that any thing but an established form of government, or any form but that under which they live, they are ready to espouse. If their ablest reasoners have shifted their ground so often, what have their converts to trust to? The only point to which all their views seem steadily directed, is to demolish what their ancestors have done. “ Do you assist us “ to pull down (they say), and then leave it to us to re- “ build when, and how, we think proper. You see, my “ friends, how fearlessly our neighbours upon the conti- “ nent have destroyed their rotten mansion; we cannot “ say that they have raised another, because the builders “ have been quarrelling, and cutting throats; but we “ have no doubt they will, as we know their integrity “ and capacity. We have learned under them, and they “ will supply us with workmen, if we like it. And as “ we have learned, we want an opportunity to shew you “ a specimen of our art. This structure of ours has un- “ doubtedly been much admired, because it has been “ built in a good style, and well proportioned according “ to the rules of masonry; but of what use are those co- “ lumns, architrave, and cornice? A plain front will do “ just as well; and as those are *inequalities*, we hate them. “ The structure is indeed tolerably firm; but what of “ that? The greater glory it will be to make it a ruin.— “ Come on then, all ye whose towering aims have been at “ any time blasted by the frown of authority; all ye “ whose bankrupt fortunes cannot be repaired but by “ spoiling the industrious; all ye whom profligacy and “ idleness have rendered obnoxious to the regular ex- “ ertions of justice; and all ye whose souls by nature are “ like the troubled sea, and cannot rest, come forward to “ a work so suited to your tempers and your hopes. But “ we need not invite you; you are already enlisted in the “ cause by your own passions, or desperate circumstances. “ We therefore next address ourselves to the more nume- “ rous classes of society, the busy trader, the toiling me- “ chanic, &c.; and as some have not the leisure, and “ others want the ability to detect our schemes, we will “ dazzle them by our pretensions to superior knowledge; “ and

“and by noting a few roughnesses which the chisel of the ordinary workman might indeed polish away, we will try to convince them that the whole building is unfit to stand in this age of thorough Reform.”

But the ways and artifices by which the preachers of sedition labour to steal upon the credulity of their countrymen, and to diffuse dissatisfaction into bosoms that hitherto knew nothing but content, it is not in my power to enumerate; much less am I able to expose them as they deserve. But a few plain truths, which disinterested soberness may very well urge, will meet, I hope, with enough of unseduced hearts to give them admittance to their serious consideration.

1. Persons who dictate to the minds of a people the necessity of a Reform, or Change, ought to be exempt from all suspicions that they are instigated to it by self-interest, disappointment, or other improper motives. If their characters do not stand perfectly clear of suspicion on these points, they are undoubtedly to be distrusted.

2. If Reformers pursue crooked ways and use undue influence to effect their purpose, that purpose cannot be an honest one. If they say it is for conscience-sake that they are so zealous, the people may be informed, that conscience has been, and may be again, the varnish for the worst of crimes: and the best proof of their veracity is, that they have not been equally zealous in supplying the real wants of their poor neighbours.

3. The people are told that they are unhappy and oppressed. But the people once thought otherwise. Will any one therefore admire the integrity and benevolence of men who are assiduous in inculcating thoughts that perplex their minds and sour their affections? Would it not have been more charitable, and certainly more true, to have told them, that, however humble be their condition, they are protected as much as the highest from oppression and wrong; that the country to which they belong is revered abroad, and prosperous and opulent; that the taxes, which our unfortunate quarrel with our Colonies, encouraged by a faction at home, had aggravated, had been, and would still more be, lessened? It cannot be an honest zeal that conceals important and comfortable truths; it cannot be patriotism which is anxious to burst the bands of union between fellow-citizens of such a country.

4. Re-

4. Resistance is held to be sometimes necessary ; but the time of necessity is a dreadful one, and can but rarely happen ; nor is it to be left to a discontented few to decide upon, whose discontents can be ascribed to no very honourable causes. If we admit the principles which our present advocates for resistance proceed upon, there never can be union under any form of Government. If we are to be governed at all, it is the first great duty to obey. Without it, we are as loose particles of sand, the sport of every wind that blows. While the laws by which we are governed remain unviolated, and are uncorruptly administered, there can be no cause for violating the rule of obedience. They who know not how to obey, are the least fitted to govern. How unsafe therefore would it be to make them the depositaries of power who are turbulent and intemperate in the station allotted to them !

5. He who is urged to make any important exchange of what he has for what he has not, will do well to, consider, whether the *actual* possession of a *real* good is not preferable to the *uncertain* prospect of something, which he only imagines from report to be better. But the exchange which an Englishman would make, if he bartered the present Constitution of his country for another, which a mad philosophy has planned, but never yet constructed, would be infinitely more hazardous. He would lose the first without being able to secure any thing in lieu of it ; and what would he not lose beside by attempting the exchange ? He would lose his innocence, his peace, and his security ; he must imbrue his hands in the blood of his neighbours and countrymen, and most probably leave wretchedness and discord as the only inheritance to his children.

6. The French cannot be competent judges in our case. Their portion was slavery ; which if they were willing to exchange for any thing else, it was no wonder. To such judges therefore, if there is any spark of that independent spirit which was wont to animate the bosom of an Englishman, we shall not submit our cause ; we shall hear with detestation their offers of interference ; we shall suffer no foreign power to give law to English councils.

Look well then, ye Reformers and Revolutionists, to the measures you are pursuing. Talk no more of French infallibility in politics : It is no more to be admitted than the Popish in religion. Englishmen are not to be dra-

gooned

gooned into their political faith. In the moment of phrenzy, deeds may be done which Humanity and Reason will afterwards behold with horror. Whatever may be your own principles, you will have to confederate with the natural enemies of your country, with the enemies of peace and good order at home, with the profligate and needy, with robbers, incendiaries, and murderers, whom the justice of their country now confines from committing further outrages upon society.

A

PICTURE of TRUE and FALSE LIBERTY:

ADDRESSED TO THE

UNDERSTANDINGS and FEELINGS of BRITONS.

My honest, worthy Countrymen,

I AM your sincere friend and wellwisher; I am an admirer of that true courage which is nowhere to be found in such perfection as among ourselves. Let not this noble courage ever become a snare to you. There are many men going about now-a-days, who envy your happiness, and tremble at your strength, and therefore they try to make you wretched, and to make you weak, by sowing dissensions among you; telling you to stand up against your Governors, and to fight for your Liberties. If you meet with any of these Mischief-Makers, tell them, that you ARE ALREADY IN POSSESSION of better Freedom than they can give you. Liberty is the PREROGATIVE of Britons—AND LIBERTY YOU HAVE. There is no nation upon earth that has so much Liberty. The *French* have not, I am sure. I know of no Liberty they enjoy, but the Liberty of running about as they please, naked and barefoot, without proper food, or proper employment—the Liberty of cutting each other's throats like a gang of Savages—the Liberty of setting up a number of cruel oppressors, who will not let them call their souls their own (telling them they are free all the while), instead of being governed, like us, by a good and gracious King, who is a Father to his Subjects.

The

The poor unfortunate people in *France* dare not speak one word that their tyrants do not approve. They dare not go to church, and say their prayers, They dare not do an act of common charity to a fellow-creature, if that fellow-creature fears God and honours the King—Is this Liberty?

Thousands of poor *Frenchmen* are now without the common necessities of life, being obliged to bruise CABBAGE-LEAVES and BRAN together, to make a kind of paste instead of bread, that their hunger may be a little satisfied; and of this miserable food they have not a sufficiency. In one part of the country a Labourer can only earn *seven-pence halfpenny a-day*, where bread of a coarse four kind costs FIVE-PENCE *a-pound*—so that he can only earn a pound and a half of bread for his family from morning to night—while the poorest *Englishman* can earn from nine to ten pounds of pure wheaten bread every day, at the present price of a quartern loaf—aye, and get a pint of beer into the bargain. But the distressed *Frenchmen* roam about in parties of hundreds and thousands, like a troop of famished wolves, and have neither food nor fuel. They mean no harm, poor souls, seeking nothing but relief for their miseries—and relief they are likely to have! for their new Rulers have sent a large detachment of soldiers to knock them all on the head, as an infallible remedy against hunger. Nay, a story is told (but I hope that is too bad to be true) that one poor woman in *France* actually devoured her own infant a few days ago, for want of any provisions. Is this happiness? From such happiness Heaven preserve us! Yet this is what the new Reformers wish to make my brave Countrymen partake of. The *French* cannot bear to see how much happier you are off than they are, and therefore they try to bring you into trouble.

They will pretend to tell you, that all men should be equal. And do you answer them, that IT IS NOT POSSIBLE. I will tell you a story, to prove how impossible it is to bring their Equality (as they call it) to bear.

A neighbour of mine had three sons—and when he died, he left his money to be divided between them, share and share alike. These three brothers, therefore, were upon an equal footing for a short time. But mark what happened. The eldest son was a wild good-for-nothing young man—he drank hard, and was fond of gaming and riotous living, and at the end of the first year he had spent all his money,

money, and was without a farthing in the world. The second son was not badly inclined, but he had a laziness in his disposition, that prevented him from working much—and at the end of the year he had just one half of the money that he set out with. The youngest son was a diligent careful youth—he never kept bad company, never drank more than did him good, but laboured industriously to rise in the world. His property, therefore, was increased very considerably when the twelvemonth was out,—and in time he became a great merchant, and is now one of the first people in London. Now at the year's end, where was the Equality? If we had all the same property to begin with, we should very soon be in different situations again. How many rich men become poor by their own extravagance! How many poor men become rich by their own industry!

And even if this were not the case—if we were all to *continue* equal—what would be the consequence? Why every man must make his own shoes, and black them when he has done—for who would do this for him? He must sweep his own chimnies—make and mend his own kettles—grind his own corn (if he can get it) into flour, and bake that flour into bread—cure himself when sick—and set his own bones, if he happens to break them. You will say he cannot do this. Then he must e'en die, and take his chance for burial, *Christian* burial he would have NONE. *French* Equality would fain banish all Christianity from the world. For what right has one man to the services of another, but that which arises from a natural and necessary **INEQUALITY**? The rich man gives his money to the poor—the poor man gives his labour to the rich—and all the while enjoys as much real happiness, and health, and liberty, and comfort, as the greatest lord upon earth.

My Countrymen, if you have a desire to rise in the world, believe me that robbery, riot, and mischief, is not the way to obtain your purpose. Try to rise by your own virtue and industry. Be honest—be diligent—be careful—be peaceable—*turn a deaf ear to the enemies of the KING, the CHURCH, and the CONSTITUTION*, and do not leave the plain wholesome ROAST BEEF of OLD ENGLAND for the meagre unsubstantial diet of these political *French* Cooks.

It may please GOD to make you easy in your circumstances—if not, he can give you contented and easy minds. Trust in him, and he will never cast you off. He will be-
flow

flow on you whatever is for your good—and if he keeps you back from worldly riches and honours, he will yet bless his servants with peace and tranquillity here, and hereafter exalt you to his own right hand in heaven, where the rich and the poor will meet together, as children of the same father.

I now bid my brave Countrymen farewell—beseeching them to remember the words of *Solomon*, who was a far wiser man than any of these new-fangled Reformers.

“ My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.”

I remain, in the sincerity of my heart, your's,

A TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

London, Dec. 13. 1792.

THE RIGHTS OF MEN:

A NEW BALLAD.

THIS World is an odd sort of place,
As, no doubt, you have often been told,
One and all will allow it's the case,
For 'tis known both to young and to old:
But of all the strange freaks and vagaries
Times past had the fortune to know,
None surely so strange and so rare is,
As what Modern wise ones can show.

Mankind have now jogg'd on together,
'Tis said for near six thousand years;
But yet they have not known each other,
As now very plainly appears.

So

So (for fear we should still go on blindly)
 With new Philosophical lights,
 Master Paine and his pupils most kindly
 Have promised to set us to rights.

First Thomas declares we're all equal,
 Not an atom of difference between us;
 That is, if you mark but the sequel,
 An old maid's as handsome as Venus.
 Each man knows as much as his neighbour,
 And just the same portion of brains;
 So the Scholar may well spare his labour,
 For what can he get by his pains?

For strength or of mind or of body,
 We are all made exactly the same,
 And you surely must pass for a noddy,
 So charming a truth to disclaim.
 About Nature ne'er puzzle your head,
 She's an old fashion'd dame, I assure you;
 Her cause too she never can plead
 With your new philosophical Jury.

Then, about Rights of Men, there's no doubt
 Mankind have done nothing but blunder;
 Such rights too at last are found out,
 That you'll stare both your eyes out with wonder.
 But beware, I entreat, how you doubt them,
 Or these wise ones presume to controul;
 For if you should happen to flout them,
 Away goes your head on a pole.

If you have a thousand or hundred,
 And I have but ten pounds a-year,
 I've a right you should quickly be plunder'd,
 Else how can we equal appear?
 So get what you will, 'tis in vain,
 Your children will never come near it,
 For the State will be at you again,
 And will swear 'tis a right they should share it.

As for Kings, they are all useless lumber;
 Each man to himself is a King;
 So there soon will be Kings out of number,
 And then we shall be quite the thing.

Each

Each too has a right to produce
 Fresh laws, as he thinks he may need 'em ;
 So then to be sure he's a goose,
 If he does not get plenty of *freedom* !

Nay, for Liberty, pleasure, or ease,
 No man has his own proper share on't,
 If he cannot do just what he please,
 Without fear of a Justice's warrant.
Titles too are now grown out of vogue,
 For titles are badges of *honour* ;—
 And where each by right is a rogue,
 Of *distinction* pray who'd be an owner ?

Then as for Religion, these wits
 Have left us in darkness at present ;
 Tho' perhaps when the season befits,
 We shall have something wonderful pleasant.
 But of this you at least may be sure,
 'Twill be nothing that's found in the *Bible*,
 Such stuff they can never endure,
 For to *them* 'tis completely a Libel.

Now tell me, good people, sincerely,
 Did you e'er know so charming a scheme ?
 If our senses did not see it clearly,
 Pray should we not think it a dream ?
 Search Infidels, Heathens, and Turks,
 Newgate, Bedlam, again and again,
 But, believe me, you'll ne'er match the works
 Of the pupils of wise Thomas Paine.

But for *me*, I shall feel somewhat shy
 Of equalling such clever fellows,
 For fear they should raise me too high,
 And bring me, perchance, to the gallows !
 And as for their light, I must own,
 To accept it I can't be so civil,
 Since, perhaps, when my business is done,
 It may light me at last to the Devil !

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER VI.

CONTAINING

The Farmer's Address—Strap Bodkin, Staymaker—French Kindness—French Humanity.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Warehouse*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill ; J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly ; and HOOKHAM and CARPENTER, Bond Street.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

A PLAIN AND EARNEST ADDRESS TO BRITONS,
ESPECIALLY FARMERS,

ON THE INTERESTING STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE *.

"When Mischief is once begun, there is no knowing when it will end."
Works of T. Paine.

BROTHER FARMERS,

YOUR attention has, doubtless, been led to a publication called "The Rights of Man;" and an Englishman must have a wonderful propensity to confound his friends and his foes, who does not discover in that work a steady and deliberate plan to sap and undermine the happiness and prosperity of Great Britain. It appears that Mr. PAINE has not only been long actuated by, but that he formerly gloried in avowing an implacable animosity and rooted hatred to this country; and *that* not merely to its Government, but to its interests, its welfare, its national character, its national honour, its commercial and naval

* A considerable part of this Tract is taken from a "PROTEST AGAINST T. PAINE'S RIGHTS OF MAN, by J. BOWLES, Esq." and the "ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE by A. YOUNG, Esq."

greatness. In violation of his natural allegiance (being born a British subject), he strained every nerve to increase the animosity subsisting between the mother-country and her colonies, and to prevent any accommodation from taking place. His pen was constantly employed during the American war in widening the breach which all good Englishmen sincerely deplored; and in promoting that final separation between England and America, which was then considered as an event the most fatal that could possibly happen to the former country. Since that period, the unexpected, the unexampled, the daily-increasing prosperity of Great Britain; the harmony, the loyalty, and the happiness of its inhabitants, furnished a disappointment too severe to be endured with any degree of composure. These were scenes which harrowed up the soul of the envious and malignant *Fiend*, who, like his *progenitor*, bent his course to this Paradise of the Globe, eager to destroy that felicity which it was not in his nature either to partake of or endure.

But the good sense of the English people is no more to be deluded *by artifice* than their vigour is to be vanquished *by force*. They are not to be persuaded to part with the substance for the shadow. They can distinguish between the sincere and honest advice of rational friends, and the wily ensnaring addresses of insidious foes. They can detect treachery, and defeat malice. They are not so short-sighted as to believe, that in 1792 the man would counsel them to their good, who a few years before was labouring at their destruction. And sensible that under the friendly influence of their most excellent Constitution, and of the happiest possible form of Government, they not only enjoy the greatest degree of personal freedom, as well as of personal security, that can exist in society, but have also risen, within the short space of eight years, from penury to affluence, and from deep and accumulated distress to great and unexampled prosperity; rejoiced also that the fruits of these great and manifold advantages have already begun to appear in an alleviation of their burthens, they are not to be induced to stop the career of their greatness, and to re-plunge into a state of confusion and calamity, worse even than that from which they have so happily emerged.

The fearful events which are at present passing in France, with a rapidity of mischief that surpasses equally all that history has to offer, or fancy to conceive, afford a spectacle interesting to every man who possesses PROPERTY; and to

none more than to FARMERS. The quarrel now raging in that once flourishing kingdom, is not between liberty and tyranny, or between protecting and oppressive systems of government; it is, on the contrary, collected to a single point—It is alone a question of property—It is a trial at arms, whether those who have *nothing* shall not seize and possess the property of those who have *something*. A dreadful question—a horrid struggle—which can never end but in the equal and universal ruin of ALL; in which he who gains by the loss of his neighbour, gains but to lose, in his turn, to some sturdier robber; till riot and confusion render property but the signal of invasion, and poverty the best shield against the attacks and tyranny of the mob.

The watch-word, from one end of France to the other, is EQUALITY; they join liberty with it, as mountebanks annex a favourite epithet to the nostrum, whose only object is the money in the pockets of the credulous. But after all rank, title, nobility, and distinction have been abolished, what do they mean by equality? The word is absurd if it attaches not to property, for there can be no equality while one man is rich and another poor.

There is information which can be relied on, that the farmers whose occupations are *large*, on comparison with the general size of farms, are under the most abominable oppression. An arbitrary and despotic mob obliges them to sell their products at a fixed price, setting the valuation of all provisions at the rates agreeable to their pleasure; and has, in innumerable instances, taken the corn brought to market at no price at all. To avoid this injustice, the farmers have abstained from appearing in the markets; and such a conduct has been punished by fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture; and decrees have even been passed for their expulsion, and dividing their farms among such as have chosen to seize them. In the levying of taxes, the most abominable transactions have disgraced the kingdom. While the proprietors of a few acres, who everywhere form the majority of each municipality, escape all taxation, they are vigilant in forcing every man of more considerable property to pay to the last farthing: and as all taxes are assessed and levied by parochial vote, at assemblies, to which *all* resort, the men without property order every thing at will, and have various ways much more effective

for the division of property, than the most direct levelling principle could suggest.

Let the farmers of this kingdom represent to themselves a picture of what their situation would be, if their labourers, their servants, and the paupers whom they support by poor-rates, were all armed, and in possession of the vestry, voting not only the money to be raised by rates, but the division of it among themselves; decreeing what the price of all the farmers' products should be; what wages should be paid to servants; and what pay, to labourers. Under such a system of Government I beg to ask, What security would remain for a single shilling in the pockets of those who are at present in a state of ease and competence? and, Whether such a state of tyranny would not be worse than that of the most determined despotism at present in Europe?

These facts are stated as having taken place in France: to say that they have everywhere taken place would be an exaggeration; but the *power* is, throughout the kingdom, *in the hands of the multitude*; and after knowing the use that has been made of that power, in so many striking instances, it may, in all truth of argument, be asked, Whether the principle of such excesses be not admitted and professed the instant the power of a kingdom is lodged in any hands but those that have some property in it?

From what has all the abominations practising in France arisen? The question is answered in a few words: From the laws being submitted to the will, and the power being lodged in the hands of the Mob;—from those fine-spun speculations of the “Rights of Man” being carried into effect, on which the late transactions in France are the best comment, and the most satisfactory reply.

I revere the manly spirit and understanding to be found in my countrymen of the lowest order. Their generous hearts, I trust, would abhor the idea of imbruing their hands in the blood of women;—of cowardly butchering those unfortunate men who had it not in their power to resist*. That system of dastardly assassination which was suggested

* The horrid transactions of the 2d and 3d of September are here adverted to; on which many of the Queen's female attendants, and several thousand helpless and unresisting persons, were massacred, with circumstances of the most savage barbarity. The Princess de Lamballe, after having suffered every insult that a French mob could offer, and which decency forbids to enumerate, was beheaded. DURING TWO

suggested by the Jacobins in France, would, I trust, meet with little encouragement in this country. But popular tyranny is a catching phrenzy, and the most dreadful disorders must ensue, where all the property of society is at the mercy of those who possess nothing. Attack and plunder will surely follow power in such hands. And I would live in Turkey rather than in England, if the wild and preposterous propositions founded on the "*Rights of Man*" were to become effective in this kingdom. In other words, I have property ; and I do not choose to live where the first beggar I meet may, the sabre in one hand, and the *Rights of Man* in the other, demand a share of that which a good government tells me is *my own*.

That there were many respectable men in this country who wished well to the Constitution of France, as established in 1789, is not to be doubted; and these persons assert, with respect to the power being put in the hands of the people, "So far would we have gone and no farther;" but they forget, that by going so far they have given the power from their own hands, and have themselves made for outrage and disorder, an inlet, which they have no longer power to close. But if these men may be excused for an error in judgment, let it not for a moment be imagined that there is any thing respectable in the levellers, your idolaters of the "*Rights of Man*," whose principles are not a jot better than those of highwaymen and house-breakers; for the object of both is *EQUALIZING PROPERTY*. The farmers should never forget, that the same principle which attacks a property of 10,000*l.* a-year, because it is too large relatively to other properties, attacks also a farm of 200*l.* a-year for the same reason; nay, of 50*l.* a-year, because that also is large, when compared with the property of those who have little.

It is curious enough to compare the original *French Declaration of Rights*, and the subsequent practice of the National Assembly. It is there asserted, *that no man can be*

DAYS her mangled body was dragged through the streets of Paris! In fact, the shocking brutality which distinguished that period, will make French Liberty and French Humanity proverbially disgusting to the latest posterity.

When accounts of these enormities were read in the porter-houses in London, frequented by the lower order of the people, bursts of generous indignation, and abhorrence of French Cruelty and Cowardice, issued from the lips of the auditors, demonstrative of the English manly spirit, and which did honour both to their hearts and understandings.

accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law has prescribed. Such is the letter; what is the practice? On complaints from Niort against some counter-revolutionists, seized by a mob thirsting for their blood, but who wished to have the flimsy cloak of a semblance of justice, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY decreed, "that all the criminal tribunals of the kingdom should try, without appeal, all crimes committed against the revolution." And in order to indulge the same thirst at Paris, which was not with all its murders satiated, they decreed the removal of the criminals from Orleans to Paris, that is, from the legally-established judicature, where there was a chance of justice, to an illegal one, where there was no such chance; and they did this in consequence of the most brutal and insulting addresses from the deputation of the commons of Paris.

The Declaration says, *that no man can be punished but in virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.* But the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY decreed, that disobedience to their orders, in the Colonies, "shall be regarded as high treason, and those who shall render themselves guilty shall be sent to France to be tried according to the rigour of the law."

The liberty of the press was provided for in the Declaration. Such was the theory. The practice was, silencing all that were not *Jacobin* papers, and beheading the authors.

Pursue the Declaration of Rights through every article, and it will be found that there is not one, registered as an imprescriptible right of man, that has not been violated under circumstances of the most odious and abominable cruelty.

An Englishman is proud of the idea of his house being his castle; see the practice of *Jacobin* government in this respect: "Decreed, that the municipalities are authorized to search the houses of all persons for arms, and to take an account of horses and carriages applicable to the war;" and soon after their absolute seizure decreed. This was sounding the alarm bell in order to give up the houses of all the gentlemen in the kingdom to the plunder of an armed rabble: and this act of tyranny, by the Legislature itself.

If we are asked what apology the tyrants of Paris have to make for their actions, their answer is STATE EXPEDIENCY; which an English reformer calls the *offspring of hell*.

On whatever subject, science, or enquiry, practice is the only comment, there is no other test. When that prince of incendiaries, PAINÉ, reviewing a train of his projects,

asks

asks with an air of triumph after each, *Would not this be a good thing? This surely would be a good thing!* In like manner, taking up the French Declaration of the "Rights of Man," there is hardly an article to be found, to which the same writer, and a hundred others, would not annex the same question, *Is not this good? Can you deny this?* But when we come to estimate these trees of goodly appearance by the fruit they have produced, we shall find—The right of resistance against oppression—*became the power to oppress*: The right to liberty—*cramped every prison on suspicion*: The right to security—*fixed it at the point of the pike*: The right to property—*was the signal of plunder*: and the right to life—*became the power to cut throats*. ARE THESE GOOD THINGS? If declarations of rights and governments founded on them are really good, the result must be good also. But these, my brother farmers, are the good things in practice, that flow in a direct line from the good things of French theory.

A gentleman in his late publication talks of *temperate reformation*, and of *pointing the zeal of the people to a moderate correction of grievances*; as if it was possible, after rousing, by inflammatory publications, the mobbish spirit, that you could draw the line of *moderation*, beyond which the populace should not pass. You want to correct grievances by means of *the people*; who, with power to effect the purpose, must have power to do much more. If they have that power, will they use it? GO TO PARIS FOR THE ANSWER.

Power in the hands of A MOB has ruined France. And the question in England is, Whether the farmers and land-proprietors shall preserve their property secure, by one and all considering the system with the horror it merits? or shall, by doubt and hesitation, unite with the enemies of public peace, and hazard all that we possess at present?

Give us our Rights, is an expression which has been used with singular emphasis. The reply once proper, was an abstract reasoning on the nature of those rights: we have now something much surer to direct our judgments; and can answer with strict reference to the facts that govern the question, "You have your rights; you are in the possession of every right that is consistent with safety to the life and property of others.---To give you more will endanger both.---To give you *much* more will infallibly destroy them, and eventually yourselves. You have, therefore,

ALL your rights, for you have all that are consistent with your happiness; and those who ASSOCIATE to gain more, seek, by means which they know to be the high-road to confusion, to seize what is not their right, at the expence of crimes similar to those that have destroyed one of the first kingdoms in the world."

There is in this country, and I glory in the recollection, a spirit of attention to the labouring part of the community far beyond what is the case in any other kingdom in the world. The heart and the purse of the employer is never shut against the distresses of his industrious labourer. The liberality of the affluent hath in every quarter provided hospitals for the diseased in mind and body; schools for the ignorant and untutored; and bread for those who are not able to earn it themselves. The peasantry in England, when honest and industrious, are the happiest upon the face of the earth. And long may they continue so! But adieu to every thing like peace and pleasure, if once the levelling principles of Mr. PAINE become the object of their desire. Such a system, like a pestilential vapour, will bring disease, idleness, and discontent, with all their train of mischief along with it. Dissatisfied with his own condition, and envious of his neighbour's prosperity, the now industrious labourer will lose all those sweet consolations which flow from a consciousness of having done his duty, and from the assurance of receiving his reward—that happy state of honest contentment, which in point of real happiness leaves him little to regret in the condition of the first among mankind!

For the curse of these principles of equality is, that they never can allow tranquillity to be the inheritance of a people. Supposing it possible for a country infested with such doctrines to be well governed, such good government will infallibly generate wealth and inequality; and by consequence the necessity of new civil wars and confusion to restore the equality which would forever tend to variation. Thus, under such fine-spun principles, peace would never inhabit; tranquillity would be banished, even by the merits, supposing there were any, of the system; and new arrangements of property would be periodically to make, at the caprice and tyranny of those who, possessing nothing, would look to confusion as their support, and to anarchy as their birth-right.

Traders and manufacturers, of every description, although their sufferings in popular insurrections are generally very severe,

severe, can frequently convert their wealth into money, and fly with it on paper wings wherever property remains secure; but the farmer is chained to a spot. His property is invested in the soil he cultivates;--he has no power of movement; --he must abide the beating of the storm, be it pitiless as it may.---To him, therefore, the new-fangled doctrines of equality ought to appear in all their native deformity; for they are doctrines that tend directly to his destruction, and from whose pestilential influence he cannot fly.

I have given you a plain statement of facts, at this time peculiarly interesting, as all engines are at work to make you fall in love with anarchy, turbulence, and sedition. I hope every one who has the spirit and understanding of a man, will set his face against those poisoners of the public mind, those insidious earwigs, who would creep into and corrupt that which they cannot openly subdue. Let those who are fond of French politics and French government, transport themselves to France, like their friend PAINE, and there hatch their treasons against their native land. If they are fond of scenes of horror * and distress, they may there indulge their propensities to the utmost. A thirst of blood, at which savages would blush, and from which insulted humanity starts back appalled; their trade and manufacturers annihilated; their agriculture cramped and fettered; honour, religion, and honesty trampled under foot. If for these, we are to dismiss our love to the King, our reverence for the Constitution and Laws, our prosperity, liberty, and happiness,—avert from Britons, oh! merciful heaven! the wretched infatuation. Teach them to know and to feel the genuineness of the blessings which distinguish this happy land. Free that land from the clamours of the seditious, the murmurs of the discontented, and the secret as well as open designs of wicked and unprincipled men. To this prayer whoever has the love of his country warm at his heart, will fervently, and with all his spirit, say Amen.

* M. Louvet asserted in the National Assembly, and his assertion was not contradicted, that no less than 28,000 persons have been massacred, with scarcely the respite of a moment to commend their souls to heaven! Of these, much the greater part had no crime whatever laid to their charge; and to the rest, except a generous concern and attachment to the fallen fortunes and depressed condition of their king, little could be objected. Will it be believed, that such a wanton effusion of blood—such a horrid prodigality of the lives of human creatures, should, among the republicans and levellers, find advocates, if not to commend, at least to palliate and excuse!!!

ADDRESS

A D D R E S S

TO THE

M E M B E R S

OF THE

VARIOUS BOX-CLUBS AND BENEFIT
SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN,*BY STRAP BODKIN, STAYMAKER.*

NOT having had the advantage of much school learning, I am afraid I shall not be able to express myself quite so well, or make myself so clearly understood by you, as I could wish ; but, at the same time, having the interest of my fellow-tradesmen and mechanics much at heart, I shall use my best endeavours to be serviceable to my fellow-citizens.

The Box Club to which I have belonged these twenty years, was instituted for relieving our sick brethren, burying those that died, and giving support to their widows and children. We went on extremely well, our meetings were numerously attended, our weekly subscriptions regularly paid, and we were enabled to fulfil all the good intentions for which we assembled ; and when I was Steward, which was but two years back, we had several hundred pounds in the Bank. I had (during the time that I was in office) laid a plan before our Society, to pay a small sum monthly (independent of the Club subscription), and draw it out every Christmas ; and it was found of great use to many of the Members, and made them very comfortable at that season. Our affairs were in this flourishing state ; peace, harmony, and innocent mirth, reigned at our meetings. If a Member was noisy or abusive, we blacked his face ; if profane and quarrelsome, we fined him ; and if turbulent, obscene, and notoriously bad, we expelled him (though that has happened but once since I have belonged to the Club). I should have remarked, that our Landlord always brought up the Daily Advertiser at our meetings, which one of the Members read, and, except when Colonel (I've forgot his name) came among us during the Westminster Election, and took the chair, I scarcely had ever heard any political topics (I think they are called) started in the Society. Things were in this agreeable situation when Mr. Dott, who wrote for Mr. Brief, who was clerk to Mr. Capias, who was agent to Serjeant Mag-

pie, who belonged to the Constitutional Society, came among us, though several of the old Members objected to having any Lawyers in the Club ; because at our last Beane-feast, at the Three Hats, two of these gentry, Tangle and Snare, somehow or other were invited, and contrived to set Trowel and Horseshoe together by the ears, and then advised them to have an action of assault and battery (as they call'd it), which laid one of the combatants in a jail, and nearly ruined the other. I reminded the Club of this, but to no purpose ; Dott was elected, and soon after began to take the management of affairs into his own hands — He doubted the legality of our Meetings — thought we were not safe with respect to the Trustees in whose names our cash was deposited in the Bank ; nay, hinted he suspected the security of the Bank itself. When he had caused much uneasiness among the Members by these insinuations, and rendered the Society out of humour with each other, he took great pains to point out the inconvenience of the house in which we had so long assembled ; the neglect of the servants, and incivility of the Landlord, who was not thought by Mr. Dott to be sufficiently respectful ; then forming a party, he turned the Committee and Stewards out of their places, and changed the house to one more fashionable, as he called it. He now proposed allowing persons under the description of Visiting Members to attend our Meetings ; and they being generally the friends of Dott, and complaining of every person and thing that was not exactly to their opinions, were always sure to promote discontent and ill-humour among us. Thus, by having the knavery and rapacity of the great, the burthens that fall upon the poor, the vast profits of masters, and the lowness of journeymen's wages, dinned continually in our ears, we were rendered so uneasy in our situations, that we began to neglect our business, and agreed to meet every night ; when, instead of spending three-pence halfpenny, we ran up a reckoning which our pay (even if we had worked our full time) could not afford. The friends of Dott advised us, that the only way to bring our masters to reason was, to go to our different shopmates and desire them to strike. It was next proposed that Dott should be made Secretary, and that the money in our Box, which was intended for the relief of sickness, age, and decent interment, should be employed in the maintenance of such refractory journeymen as neglected their business, till they could do what they called “ bringing their masters to reason.”

reason." But when necessity drove masters to comply with their demand, it afforded no occasion for exultation; as many Members were (by numbers of hands coming in from the country) driven entirely out of bread, and obliged to subsist upon the fund of the Box. Our Club, though more numerous, was now neither so sociable or useful as it had been formerly; our money, which the old Members had hoarded with so much care against a rainy day, was hourly decreasing.

Mr. Dott next thought proper to bring books to the Club, which I think they called "The Rights of Man;" and as they were at a small price, we were persuaded to purchase them, from a notion that they taught people to live without labour. For my part, I can't say I liked their maxims, for they seemed to me to be written to lead us plain people astray: For, says I to myself, this Mister Paine seems to wish for a change of Government; but why, as we have for some years enjoyed the blessings of peace, as trade has increased, and is daily increasing, as all things have for a long time gone on smoothly and prosperously, and as the greatest part of our grievances are in the brains and hearts of wicked and designing people, why should we wish to change our present happy situation? I'm sure, as for myself and all my neighbours who have a little property to lose, we dread a change, and are determined to preserve it; as it is the opinion of much wiser heads than mine that this Mister Paine, and a set of needy wretches that he is connected with, only want to make a general scramble, that they may have an opportunity to catch what they can.

Our Secretary, Mr. Dott, next proposed that the name of the Club should be altered to that of a Convention; the strangers that visited us of a Wednesday night were now called Delegates; if a Member absented himself he became an Emigrant; if it was thought proper to fine one, he was brought before the Tribunal; to the benches they gave the name of Sections; the lower end of the table was called the Bar; our weekly contributions a Revenue; and myself the *Ci-Devant* President. Defects had been discovered in our Articles; so, to crown the whole, nine of our Members were directed to frame a new Constitution. Such is our present situation; we are continually forming schemes for the Public Good, and have proposed a method for the payment of the National Debt, lessening the Taxes, and regulating the Civil List. But whatever good we may

do to the Public in general, I am sure our private affairs have gone on miserably; for by neglecting our business, spending our own money, and wasting that of the Box (which should have been reserved for the hour of sickness or adversity), many of my acquaintance who used to be satisfied with their stations, and by their industry maintained their wives and families comfortably, have, since they began to talk of Liberty and Equality, Aristocrates and Democrats, and twenty other hard words which I never heard of before, been obliged to part with their goods to appease their landlords; their clothes to supply themselves with victuals, or rather drink (for I always remarked that the greatest politicians among us were the greatest drunkards); their children have been sent to the workhouse; and their wives (from the contagion of bad example) have become as negligent as themselves; and very frequently more serious consequences have ensued from their political profligacy.

Let us, therefore, my worthy fellow-citizens, avoid the evils I have above stated, by paying no attention whatever to the counsels of those incendiaries who endeavour to poison and deprave the public mind by whispering treason and disloyalty to the Members of your different Societies. Let us venerate the Government from which our fathers and fathers' fathers derived security and happiness. Let us pay that respect to the Monarch to which he is entitled both by his virtues and situation. Let us treat our superiors with deference and esteem as long as they direct their influence to the service, and not to the oppression of their inferiors. Let us consider our religious opinions (to whatever sect we may belong) to have their foundation in obedience to the Divine commands, submission to the laws of our country, peace, charity, and love toward each other, and there is no doubt but that the many blessings we derive from our Constitution will still continue to be the envy of other nations, in spite of the endeavours of concealed incendiaries, or those that avow themselves the authors of schemes which they know are impracticable, and which, if they could be carried into execution, would be only productive of that confusion it seems to be the first wish of their hearts to promote.—That we may avoid the snare that is laid for us, is,

My worthy Fellow-Citizens,
 The sincere Prayer of
 Your Friend and Servant,
 SIRAP BODKIN.

FRENCH KINDNESS.

THE French, Brother Englishmen, would fain persuade us to alter our form of Government, and imitate them in trampling under foot both the established religion, and those laws which we have hitherto been proud of. Before we hearken to their advice, let us try to recollect some one instance of their former good will to our nation; some benefit which may tempt us to trust them. Let us begin with our Revolution in 1688. The French did their utmost then, by open war and private machination, to entail upon us popery and slavery. They sent an army to Ireland; they paid assassins to murder King William in England; and when they received an account of his being killed (though a false one), they illuminated the windows of Paris for joy.

In the year 1745, the French, after stirring up a set of brave mistaken Scotsmen to rebel against King George the Second, meanly left them in the lurch, and contented themselves with terrifying the old men and women of London with threats of burning and plundering their city.

Very lately, did not these very French excite the people of North America to revolt against Great Britain? and did not these very French join in the war with their whole force against us, altho' they had persuaded our Ambassador to believe that they meant us nothing but true friendship?

Ah! my countrymen, be on your guard against every thing which France, our ancient, constant, and perfidious enemy, may offer under pretence of its being for our good.

JOHN BULL.

FRENCH HUMANITY.

I TOLD you in my first letter to beware of advice from the French, as they never yet had shewn to Great Britain any other disposition than that of doing to her every mischief they could.

I now warn you to avoid following French examples. They have none to shew but specimens of Blood; Rapine, and Murder. You shall hear a little of their deeds and

in telling the tale I will only consult their own writers.

In 1418, a faction among the people of Paris massacred all of the opposite faction; above twenty thousand persons were stabbed or smothered, among whom were more than five thousand women.

In 1572, seventy thousand protestants were murdered on St. Bartholomew's day in Paris and the districts around it. And during the first twenty years of one of the French civil wars, Fromenteau, one of their own writers, affirms, that seven hundred and sixty-five thousand persons were slain, twelve thousand three hundred women were ravished, nine cities and two hundred and fifty villages burnt by this elegant humane nation.

Let the forlorn deplorable Emigrants from France, thronging every street in London, and dependent on your charity for every morsel of bread they eat, describe to you the horrors of last September. The prisons forced! the guilty and the innocent involved in one slaughter! Women, after having been cruelly murdered, carried naked on poles through the streets of Paris!

Ah! my friends and countrymen, shall such examples be followed by the mild and generous inhabitants of England, who in all their civil wars were never accused of a single massacre; and who, altho' deluded to much mischief by a mad Fanatic in 1780, spilt not a single drop of human blood in the midst of the most intemperate riot!

JOHN BULL.

THE
H A P P Y M A N.

A N E W S O N G.

I HAVE been married these dozen long years,
And happily liv'd with my Dolly ;
I leave to the Great all the national cares,
Nor trouble my head with such folly ;
I mind my own bus'ness, and earn my own bread,
My wages are paid, and my children are fed,
And safe on my shoulders I'll keep my own head,
Neighbours, mind this, and be quiet.

When my day's work is done, to the alehouse I fly,
And there I hear all the fine chatter,
A deal about Freedom, and Equality,
And such like nonsensical matter ;
Tom Paine's Rights of Man ! what are those Rights
to me ?
To do what is right, I am sure I am free ;
I want to hurt no man, no man can hurt me,
Neighbours, mind this, and be quiet.

I think that they all want to be at the top,
Who make about Freedom this sputter ;
But if o'er the milk the cream did not pop,
How could we get any good butter ?
I'll keep to my work, and rejoice in my state,
We can't all go foremost e'en through the church gate ;
So I will be HAPPY, let who will be great.
Neighbours, mind this, and be quiet.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER VII.

CONTAINING,

The Mistaken Part of the Community, &c.—Liberty and Property, Courage, and Common-Sense.—A Parish Clerk's Advice to the good People on the present Times.—A serious Caution to the Poor.—Reflections on Paine's Trial.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. SEWELL, at the *European Magazine Warehouse*, Cowper's Court, Cornhill; J. DEBRETT, Piccadilly; and HOOKAM and CARPENTER, Bond-street.

Price ONE PENNY.

TO THE

M I S T A K E N P A R T

OF THE

C O M M U N I T Y,

Who assemble in Seditious Clubs for the Purpose of obtaining a REDRESS of what they suppose GRIEVANCES.

MY FRIENDS,

LET me candidly address a few lines to you on your present Impolitick behaviour. Either you are mistaken in forming your opinions of what you call Grievances, or else you are misled by an artfull set of men, who are trying to bring you into trouble that they may reap the benefit. If they tell you that in France they pay no Taxes, they deceive you. The French at the beginning of the Revolution were not as you are; the poor paid all the Taxes. The very Salt

B

was

was monopolised by the French Government, and because the poor man could not get it under Ten-pence a-pound, and this one half dirt, he was obliged to go without; nay, the poor man who lived by the Sea-side dare not even boil the Salt-water; and at the same time the rich man paid no Land-Tax: This you will allow was cruel treatment. But you have Salt at three halfpence a-pound; In like manner all the Taxes fell upon the poor in France. See the difference in England; here it is calculated so that the poor feel comparatively nothing to the rich.

Were not you last year relieved in part from Taxes, and if you had not created a disturbance you would this year have been still further relieved, for if you will look at the news-papers every week you will there find that there has been more than one million saved, which most probably would have enabled the government to have relieved the poor from some of the Taxes they most feel, such as the Tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on Porter; a part of the Tax on Candles, and a part of the Tax on Soap. See then how impolitick is your conduct. You have by your disturbances obliged Government to call out the Militia, by which that very money must now be expended which was to have been applied to your benefit.

When you call for reduction of Taxes, you surely do not understand what the nature of Taxes are: Let me then clear this matter to you. It is a rule to do as you would be done by. Now if it is necessary that the Publick should borrow money to defend the Kingdom from foreign enemies, and if any man among you happens to have 50, or 20*l.* and you lend it to Government, pray do you not expect interest for it? And this interest must be paid by Taxes—Therefore it is unfair in you to call for a reduction of those Taxes. Besides the Taxes are laid in such a manner that little is paid by the poor, and every man is at liberty to pay what he pleases, by living in that manner that will subject him to the fewer Taxes. Pray can you ever complain of the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on a pot of porter when every person who keeps a coach, as well as paying the halfpenny on the pot of porter, pays a Tax of 12*l.* a year for his coach, and so for many other matters where the poor bear no part. Does not a moderate house pay 5, and 6*l.* a year Window Tax when a small house under so many windows pays nothing? Further how are the very poor to be maintained but by the Taxes raised for that purpose. Thus you see the rich pay the Taxes not the poor. But the poor reap the benefit of those Taxes paid by the rich.—Now let me point out to you what would be the consequence of the reduction of Taxes: If the Taxes were not paid, that part of the Community who have lent money

to Government could not receive their Income; the consequence would be to all Journeymen and Labourers, that where they now earn two Guineas per week, they perhaps would not earn 14 Shillings; where one Guinea, not more than 7s. 6d. and where 12s.—10s. and 9s. only 5s.—4s.—3s; and so in proportion; and many in that case would not be able to get work.—Further, in regard to Servants, one half of their number must lose employ, and the other half be reduced to one third of their present wages: Besides building would be at a stand, which would throw out of employ Bricklayers, Carpenters, and their labourers, and the like would happen to all other trades and manufactories: And to add to the whole, the confusion this would bring on, would be such that though the journeyman and labourer would gain less, yet he would find the price of bread much higher than at present; and as is the case now in France, perhaps not get bread to buy if he has money to go to market with.

Therefore, my friends, take the advice of one who is neither in a superior or inferior situation of life, who is totally disinterested in giving this council, which you must see is for your own good; return therefore to your several employs, and rest assured that those who have the management of these matters are doing for the best, and that by such improper meetings you will not only bring trouble and mischief on yourselves but prevent the very good intentions in your favour—

See how the French are taxed and at the same time starved. Their Soldiers have not shoes, and are kept in the open fields without covering during this cold weather; they have bad bread, little or no meat, and nothing but water to drink, and some of them even have no stockings and only four-pence a day paid in paper-money, in the exchange of which they lose one half. Let our own Soldiers therefore comfort themselves in being well clothed, well fed, and well found in every thing, which would not be the case if the Taxes were taken off; for where then would the money come from that was to supply them with pay, cloathes and nourishment. We must therefore trust to a good Ministry that has and will take particular care that our Taxes will be reduced as often as the circumstances of the times will admit,

This advice comes from

A friend to true British Liberty.

LIBERTY, *and* PROPERTY, COURAGE, *and* COMMON SENSE.

AY! my Lads—What is Liberty? 'Tis not that you shall make free to snatch a glass of Champagne, out of my Lord's hand, when he is lifting it to his mouth, or that he should dash the porter out of your's when you are going to take a lusty draught of it; but that both you and my Lord possess your own, with equal security. Liberty, what is it? 'Tis not that you my Lads should throw mud at my Lord's Chariot driving on the Coach way—or that he should trample on, or splash you on the pavement. But that each should in their several roads go unmolested on their pleasures, or business.

PROPERTY.

Life is a Lottery—our chances, before birth were equal—You may have drawn a prize, whilst a blank happens to be my portion—Now when you have got possession of your prize money, if I should endeavour to force it from you, you would call me a Rogue for taking what was not mine, and a fool, because you would hang me for it. I'll tell you a story of old John —, whom I knew a Journeyman Brick-layer, and whom thousands of you have huzza'd when your late worthy Lord-Mayor: John drew a blank at starting—But John was honest, and willing to labour—he thought it better to mount the ladder a thousand times to the roof of the highest houses than risk the stepping once on another ladder. His labours were blessed with a deserved success, he died dignified with the City's highest honours.—Go, then my honest fellow, and do likewise.

Now for Courage, and common sense.

You have courage—so have I—But if we have common sense also—we shall rather read this and separate with mutual good will—than give each other a douse on the chops at parting.

A PARISH CLERK'S *advice, to the GOOD PEOPLE, on the*
PRESENT TIMES.

GOOD PEOPLE.

YOU have lately heard some folks talk about a thing called Aristocracy; and other folks talk about a thing called Democracy. Now I'll tell you what they mean.

You know there is a King, Lords, and Members, who be sent to Parliament by Voters at Elections. Now if the Lords were to say, that the King and the Members sent by Voters should not help to make Laws, that would be Aristocracy: but if the Members sent by Voters were to say, that the King and the Lords should not help to make Laws, that would be Democracy.

Now mind what would happen, if the Lords were to say that the King and Members sent by Voters, should not help to make Laws.

The Lords would begin quarrelling about who should be uppermost: and the proudest of them would stick at nothing to gain their ends. All the money we now pay to support Soldiers, Sailors, Lawyers, and Parsons, would then be seized, and spent in bribes to people that could bawl, make a noise, and get mobs together. But observe me; though the Lords would quarrel among themselves about who should be uppermost, yet they would take care all to agree in doing you harm. A man would not dare say his soul was his own, under an Aristocracy: for as I have read in some History Books, in all places where an Aristocracy has been set up by itself, the People have been always used like slaves.

Well; now let's see what ill would come if the Members sent by Voters at Elections were to say, that the King and the Lords should not help to make Laws. The proudest of the Members would try to be uppermost, and be always making an uproar in the Country. All the Drunken, Riotous, Idle, and bad People would join some one side, and some another, and be for ever fighting. 'Twas exactly so last summer in France. And how many d'ye think have had their throats cut and their heads chopped off? Why, thousands. People that before got their livelihood in an honest way and hurt nobody, were killed because they did not like to join in Riot, Stealing, and Murdering.

Now I'll tell you how much Good is done by our having a King, Lords, and Members sent to Parliament by Voters, to help one another in making Laws.

The King hinders the Lords from making any Laws to hurt the Members sent by Voters: and the King hinders the Members sent by Voters from making any Laws to hurt the Lords. So again; the Lords won't let the Members hurt the King; and the Members won't let the Lords hurt him. And so all Three, King, Lords, and Members are forced to agree in making Laws.

The proverb says, "Two heads are better than One:" ay, and "Three heads are better than Two." We know, that when our Squire, and the Church-wardens, and the Overseers all meet together in the Vestry, Parish Business is done better than when the Squire is there without the Parish Officers, or the Parish Officers without the Squire: and the reason is, because when they be all met, one knows what is best to be done in one case; another knows what is best to be done in another case; and a third knows what is best to be done in a different case: and so from their helping one another they do the Parish Business well. 'Tis just so with King, Lords, and Members sent by Voters: they all help one another with advice, and so do the business of the Nation well.

You have heard a great deal too about one man's being equal to another. Now to my mind, the folk that talk so, talk as foolish as if they were to say, that a Man of five feet high were as tall as a Man of six feet; that the People down in our Church could sing as well as the choir in the Gallery; that a pack of Boys could ring and play at cricket as well as our ringers and cricket club; or that the Man who had his head broke at back-sword last Salisbury race week, was as good a Man on the stage as he that broke his head and won the prize. But I'll tell you a little more what the folk mean, that talk about one man's being equal to another. If you are a Master; these folk teach your servant to turn you out of doors; and become Master himself. If you are a servant, and have saved up some money out of your wages; these folks teach any fellow that is stronger than you, to take your money away from you: and if you say it is very hard that you should lose your money, the fellow is taught to beat you down and pick your pockets. If you are a Tradesman, these folk teach your Journeymen and Apprentices not to obey your orders: and they tell persons who owe you money for goods delivered, that there is no harm in cheating you and that they ought not to be punished for not paying their just debts. If you are a Farmer; these folk teach your Carters, Threshers, Hedgers, and Shepherds, to break open your Barns
and

and Granaries, and take corn when ever they please. If you are a Clothier; these folk bid your Scribblers, Shearmen, and Burlers, and all in your shop pull down your Machines, and not work without encrease of wages. If you are a Hard-ware maker at Birmingham or Sheffield, they tell your workmen to destroy all Engines if they don't like them, and to spend in drinking and mobbing just as much time as they please. So a fine piece of pell-mell is made by the Tag, Rag, and Bobtail in places, where these folk are lurking.

Ay; and now see what the people in France have got by all the higgledy-piggledy, topsy-turvy business brought about by the mad folks, that have talked there so much about one man's being equal to another. Why, in one large Town only, there are thirty thousand manufacturers all out of work; and the reason is, because their Masters are ruined for want of customers, and the workmen are ruined with their Masters. Thousands of other people are starving; the reason is, because the Farmers can get nobody to work; or if they can get hands, yet they can't get a fair price for their corn, and so they won't plough their land.

You have been told by the folk that want to set us all by the ears, like cat and dog, that you shall then have bread and cheese, meat and beer, and clothing, ten times cheaper than now, if you will join in kicking up a dust. Neighbours, 'tis all a lie; an impudent lie; and they that give you such false promises know that they are telling lies. And I'll prove the contrary to what they say. If there was to be a general disturbance of the peace in our Towns and Villages, all trades would be at a stand: your Markets would not be served: your Malsters could not get Barley: your Clothiers could not make Cloth: and so, instead of having every thing cheaper, you would have every thing dearer, and pay more money for worse things then, than you pay for good things now. Perhaps too, "the tables may be turn'd;" as the saying is, and "the weakest may go to the wall;" so all you will get by riot will be hanging. Or perhaps you may be shot in the scuffle; and then what is to become of your poor wives and children! Lord have mercy upon us! it makes me all in a tremble to think what misery these mad folk would bring down upon us!

And who d'ye think is at the bottom of all this? why the people who call themselves the National Convention in France. First of all they drove away all the poor Frenchmen who would not join in their cruelty; the poor Frenchmen we be saving from being murdered. Then they employed

ployed people to make a piece of work here, in hopes that whilst we were quarrelling at home, they might come and do our country some harm. And so, just like the Frenchmen in all the wars for the last hundred years, they must be meddling and making with other people's affairs, and "thrusting their fingers into other people's pyes," as the saying is. But please God! and "they will burn their fingers:" we shall make the Mounseers over the water dance to another tune, if they don't leave us alone. "No frogs, nor soup-meagre for Englishmen:" let 'em eat what they like at home, but not think to cram an Englishman with such stuff. The French have been all mad and blind together; and they are all ruined for their pains; so they wish that we too may be all mad and blind together, and that we may be ruined just as they are. But don't let us go to pot to please them. We are well off as we are: don't let us go to *undo* every thing, for a *chance* only of mending something. Don't let us begin pulling down our houses over our heads to bury ourselves in the ruins. Don't let us kill the patient by way of curing him, as the quack-doctors do.

Mind me, neighbours. Once upon a time the heart and feet grumbled because the head was raised above them, and because the head could see. So the heart and feet made a bargain; the heart would not supply the head with blood; and the feet would not go where the head looked. Upon this, the head soon grew very pale; the eyes were dim; the brain out of order, till at last down fell the whole body to the ground. The heart began blaming the feet, and the feet found fault with the heart, but upon a little consideration they confessed they were both to blame. So the heart set about giving blood to the head, and the feet walked wherever the head looked: and all three agreed, that as neither of them could do without the other two, so they would be good friends, and accordingly they lived to a long old age. Even so, must King, Lords, and Members in Parliament all agree together, and then Old England will prosper for many hundred years.

Remember too the man that married two wives: one wife pulled out his black hairs, and the other wife pulled out his gray hairs, and so between them both the poor husband was left bald-pated. Even so, if one tries to destroy this part, and another tries to destroy that part of our Laws, we shall be left without any Laws, and be at the mercy of thieves and murderers.

Once again, neighbours, and I won't speak any more. Do but think of the boy, who had a goose that laid golden

eggs,

eggs, as the story says. The boy, like a blockhead, as he was, could not be contented to take the eggs after the goose had laid them, but even cut open the Goose, in hopes of getting the eggs the sooner, and so he lost eggs, goose, and all. Just so if we are so foolish as not to know the value of the blessings we now enjoy, but are so restless that we must needs cut up the Constitution, why we shall loose the Blessings and Constitution too, and get nothing in exchange but bloodshed and confusion as long as we live, and as long as our Children may live after us. So do let us know when we are well off, and be thankful!

A

S E R I O U S C A U T I O N

T O

T H E P O O R.

DECEMBER 8, 1792.

YOU have been told much of the French Revolution;—Consider what the Revolution has produced.—It has totally overthrown all Government and all Property, and all Religion;—it has laid waste whole Houses, Palaces, and Cities;—it has overturn'd all Law and Order and Justice and Trade;—it has put Thousands of our Fellow Creatures to Death in the most horrible and barbarous manner;—and it has driven ten-thousands of them into different Countries where they are hourly languishing under every possible agony of distress. — These certainly are very serious things.— Surely the principles which have brought all this misery upon France must be extremely dangerous, and you ought to consider well before you adopt them.

Something has been said concerning the “ *Equality of Mankind*.”—If this expression has any meaning, it must signify that we shou’d all be exactly alike.—But have you consider’d how many years it will cost you, and how much labour too, before you can make us so? And when you have done all this, how long shall we continue equal do you think?—*Not a single day*—for men of superior integrity, industry,

dustry, and skill, wou'd, in a very few hours, gain the advantage over the dishonest, the indolent, and the ignorant.—Consider then, how very little meaning there is in this word *Equality*.—How is it possible that there can be any such Equality, when some must *govern*, and others must be *govern'd*?—The world is now near six thousand years old, and did you ever hear of any Nation whatever in which the inhabitants were all equal?—No—*There must be distinctions amongst men*, and one great source of these distinctions is *property*.—Providence meant from the beginning, that there shou'd be *rich* and that there shou'd be *poor*—and you find in the Bible many duties commanded to each.—Now, if it were intended that all shou'd be *rich*, why shou'd any duties be commanded to the *poor*?—If by your own industry and honesty you can make yourselves rich, there is no law of this Kingdom which forbids you. You daily see numberless instances of individuals rising very honourably from poverty to great wealth, and you cannot but know that industry and honesty generally meet with great encouragement and success in this Kingdom.—But if you overturn Government, you overturn property too, and are a *great deal poorer* than you possibly cou'd be under the *very worst Government*.—The rules of property are founded upon strict principles of Justice and conscience, and the Bible expressly forbids you to invade the whole or any part of another man's property, be it ever so great.—You see then how weakly those persons argue who talk much about *Equalizing*: add to that, they have very slender notions either of Justice or Religion, and at the last, will be much poorer than when they first began.

It may be said perhaps, “*If all were equal, we shou'd not be compelled to work.*” Be not so absurdly deceived.—This life of Equality wou'd be no easy life—for without Government—without law—without protection, you wou'd find that to preserve your property wou'd be a hard task indeed:—far harder than any labour which you now undergo, and what is worse, you would live in daily horror and anxiety—besides, how cou'd this property be ever valuable to you without some labour and exertion? Wou'd the earth of itself bring forth fruits for you? Wou'd houses of themselves rise from the ground? Wou'd the necessaries and conveniences of life be supplied to your hands without any care, or fore-thought of your own?—“Wou'd the ravens, do you suppose, bring you bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening?” Certainly not—you would be driven to labour—with the sweat of your own brow—for yourself; and must labour much more painfully than you do at present—for

as all wou'd be equal, you cou'd compel none to labour for you—or to assist you.

But something has been said of the "*Rights of Man.*" What do you mean by these words? Do you mean those Rights which Man claims as given him from God? If so, those Rights cannot possibly be preserv'd *without Government*, or do you mean, Man's *civil* Rights?—If so, those Rights plainly *suppose* a Government; so that in either Case, even according to your own account there *must* be a Government. But it may be said, "*My Natural Rights are too much abridg'd by civil Government.*"—If you mean to apply this to the Civil Government of England, I entirely deny the fact.—The Law of England lays no restraints but upon your wickedness, your immorality, or your injustice; and, in no other case whatever, does it give any man upon earth the least power over your Life, your Limbs, your Liberty, your Property, or one single possession which you value and enjoy:—On the contrary it effectually protects all these things for you, and secures them to you against the violence and oppression of others.—As long as you continue honest and do no injury to your neighbour, the Law permits you to do exactly as you please, and it endeavours to make every thing comfortable to you, and severely punishes all those who dare to disturb you.—You wou'd find this to be true if you knew at all the proceedings of the Courts of Law,—and after all, even supposing that you *had* some little reason to complain, Rebellion is not the best method of gaining redress.

But it is often lamented that "*property is too unequally divided.*" The distribution of property in England gives great encouragement to those who are upright, diligent, skilful, and prudent;—but it gives very little encouragement to those who are dishonest, slothful, extravagant, or imprudent;—and the law allows us, when once we have gain'd a property, not only to enjoy it ourselves, but to dispose of it as we please at our death.—Now this is certainly a very great privilege.—You wou'd not wish that it should be abolish'd.—It ought to be a pleasing reflection to you to think that your children, and those whom you hold most dear, will enjoy every thing you leave behind you, and the more you leave, the more will they enjoy.—If therefore some persons be born to great possessions, the case is simply this—That their fathers or fore-fathers underwent the toil and fatigue of acquiring those possessions, and afterwards left them to be enjoy'd by their descendants.—Now all this is very reasonable and comfortable,—Surely it is very right to divide property in this manner:—Much better than to destroy it, as the levellers have done in France.

“ But

“ *But you may possibly complain of Taxes.* ”—No Government can be maintain’d without expence—Fleets and Armies must be paid—Judges and others must have salaries—Men must not fight our battles and give up all their time and talents to us—for nothing. Our Taxes are for maintaining these expences. Is it not better to *possess* property—(though it be taxed)—than to possess *no property, no personal safety* at all?—But it may be urged, “ *our Taxes are too high* ”—Every Englishman wishes with you that they were less, and none more sincerely so than our Governors themselves—But are *you* taking the proper means of *lessening* these Taxes?—On the contrary, are you not taking the very means of *encreasing* them?—for riots and tumults always bring a heavy load of expences, and particularly upon the spot where they are committed—or in short, are *you* able to devise *any* means of lessening Taxes: Our Governors are doing every thing in their power to relieve us: and instead of harrassing them, we ought to be grateful to them for their care.—But you may say, “ *our Government is too expensive.* ”—Is it in *your* power, do you think, to tell us how Government can be managed more frugally? Are *you* able to give us any deep and useful calculations upon this head? Many of these expences were incurred a hundred years ago—long before we were born, and you ought not to be angry with our Governors for being honest, and preserving our national character in paying our just debts:—and debts too which *they* had no hand in contracting.—“ *But the King’s Revenue you think is too large.* ”—You suppose then that the King wholly and solely by himself consumes his Revenue:—You are greatly mistaken—The King’s income is divided amongst multitudes of people, who share it with him—there are many labourers, manufacturers, servants, and others, who are as justly chargeable as the King, with consuming this Revenue—Besides, suppose that this Revenue was entirely to be abolished, how much do you imagine that *you* would be the gainer?—If the King’s Revenue was to be divided equally amongst every one of his Subjects throughout, I will venture to say, that each person’s share would scarcely be three shillings in the year.—Now will you be so foolish as to involve yourself and family in the greatest distress, and even risque your own life and their’s—nay will you involve the whole Kingdom too in the deepest misery and bloodshed—merely for the *small chance* of gaining such a paltry sum as this—scarcely the wages of two days, and in some places not even the wages of *one day*? If gain be your object, you certainly are
not

not taking the wisest course.—You have every day in your power a thousand better ways of making money, than by destroying the Royal Revenue.

But it is said, “*The Officers of State receive too great Salaries.*”—Whenever you can find men of integrity, sense, character, and education,—*Men fit to be trusted*—who will do the business of the State for less money—you may then fairly interpose—but, till then, be content to pay our Statesmen as at present, for many of them dearly earn their money.—But it is said—“*there are many Sinecure places*”—large sums given to people who do nothing—But these people *have once* done something—they have either gained us great victories by sea or land, or have done the State some service by their wholesome counsels and prudent exertions; and have endured much labour and hardship both of body and mind, and have suffered much inconvenience or disadvantage on our account—Now you will not be so base as to deny them some small recompence for their services.

In short, no set of poor upon earth are by any means so happy as the honest and industrious poor of this Country. The law secures your Property, Persons, and every possible Liberty :—for it is well known that the law of England, above all other laws in the world, is open to the lowest as well as the highest, to the poorest as well as the richest.—The present times too are peculiarly favourable to you : for by reason of the great increase of trade, there is great demand for your labour—and the wages given you are extremely liberal.—These are very valuable blessings—and these we earnestly wish you to enjoy, instead of rushing headlong upon your ruin.

THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

ON

PAINE'S TRIAL.

WHEN so much has been said on the mischief done by spreading Seditious and Inflammatory Libels, we cannot permit so important a transaction as the conviction of *Thomas Paine* to pass without an observation. The writings which go under the name of this man, contain almost all the topics that have been made use of to disquiet the minds of the ignorant, and incite them to disturb the peace of the Kingdom. The numerous other publications are little more than repetitions of these in various forms. The sentence of the law upon this publication, must therefore be received with heartfelt satisfaction by the Nation, which now shews itself so determined to counteract, and repel its mischievous effects. The whole proceeding, which led to this conviction, cannot be less a subject of congratulation. The temper, as well as firmness, shewn in this prosecution; the sound and constitutional doctrines on which it was grounded, by the Attorney-General who conducted it; the decision of the law and fact by the Jury, without hesitation, or doubt upon the merits: all these considerations united, cannot fail to impress the Nation with confidence in the administration of justice in matters of Libel.—That although it may be slow, it is yet sure; and that it is conformable to the purest principles ever contended for by Theorists, and no where reduced to rational practice but in this Country. With such a tribunal, this Country will continue to enjoy the freedom of the Press, and be enabled to resist the fatal effects to be dreaded from its licentiousness.

Dec. 26, 1792.

A WORD

A WORD TO THE WISE.

A new Ballad on the Times.

THE Mounseers, they say, have the world in a string,
 They don't like our Nobles, they don't like our King;
 But they smuggle our wool, and they'd fain have our wheat,
 And leave us poor Englishmen nothing to eat.
Derry down, &c.

They call us already, a Province of France,
 And come here by hundreds to teach us to dance;
 They say we are heavy, they say we are dull,
 And that beef and plumb-pudding's not good for John Bull.
Derry down, &c.

They jaw in their clubs, murder women and Priests,
 And then for their Fishwives they make Civic Feasts;
 Civic feasts! what are they? why a new-fashion'd thing,
 For which they renounce both their God and their King.
Derry down, &c.

And yet there's no eating, 'tis all foolish play,
 For when pies are cut open, the birds fly away;
 But Frenchmen admire it, and fancy they see,
 That Liberty's perch'd at the top of a tree.
Derry down, &c.

They say man and wife should no longer be one,
 "Do you take a daughter, and I'll take a son,"
 And as all things are equal, and all should be free,
 "If your wife don't suit you, Sir, perhaps she'll suit me."
Derry down, &c.

But

But our women are virtuous, our women are fair,
Which is more than they tell us, your French women are ;
They know they are happy, they know they are free,
And that liberty's not at the top of a Tree.

Derry down, &c.

Then let's be united, and know when we're well,
Nor believe all the lies, these Republicans tell,
They take from the rich, but don't give to the poor,
And to all sorts of mischief they'd open the door.

Derry down, &c.

Our soldiers and sailors will answer these Sparks,
Though they threaten Dumourier shall spit us like larks ;
True Britons don't fear them, for Britons are free,
And know Liberty's not to be found on a Tree.

Derry-down, &c.

Ye Briton's be wise as you're brave and humane,
You then will be happy without any *Pain*;
We know of no Despots, we've nothing to fear,
For this new-fangled nonsense will never do here.

Derry-down, &c.

Then stand by the Church, and the King, and the Laws,
The Old Lion still has his teeth and his claws ;
Let Britain still rule in the midst of her waves,
And chastise all those foes who dare call her sons Slaves.

Derry-down, &c.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER VIII.

CONTAINING

Dialogue between a Tradesman and his Porter—Analysis and Refutation of Paine's Rights of Man—Questions to the People of Great Britain—Think a little.

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

Mr. T—, A TRADESMAN IN THE CITY,

AND

HIS PORTER, JOHN W—.

A LITTLE time since, a respectable Tradesman in the City met one of his Porters on a Saturday evening dressed in his best clothes, and with a face full of business. The Porter, being a sober and industrious man, was usually treated with more familiarity by his master than the rest of the servants, who did not so well deserve it. The master therefore stopped to speak to him, and the following conversation passed between them.

Master. What, John! how came you to be in your Sunday's coat on a Saturday night? Are you going to your club feast?

John. No, Sir; my club has been broken up these three months.

A

Master.

Master. Broken up! What's the reason of that, John?

John. Why they now go to a good many new clubs, and a poor man cannot afford to belong to more than one.

Master. What new clubs, John? I thought your's was a very good club. I remember, when you had theague and fever last winter, what help you said you had from your club. Why have the members left it? They must be lucky to have met with a better.

John. Why, Sir, they get nothing at present from the new clubs, though they pay somewhat. But I hear that they will get a great deal by and bye.

Master. How so?

John. Really, Sir, I do not very well understand politics, but it is to be brought about somehow by a change in the Government. We hear that the people are to rise, and declare their rights.

Master. And pray do you belong to any of these clubs, John?

John. No, Sir; I have been to one of them as a visitor two or three times, and I was going again just as you met me.

Master. Well then, you can tell us all about it. Pray how came that club to meet first?

John. The working men, as I hear, were got together by two or three gentlemen that frequented the house, and used to talk and drink with them as good-naturedly as could be; and treated them at first with punch and porter, till the club was settled.

Master. Then they do not treat you now?

John. No, Sir; we hear nothing of them now, only they send us some little books and printed papers now and then.

Master. Well, and what do the gentlemen and their books tell you?

John. I do not like to say, Sir, for fear you should be angry.

Master. You mean, John, that you do not like to tell me because you think you have done wrong. You know I should not be angry with you for nothing; you know I am your friend; tell me then, what do you learn from the gentlemen and their books?

John. Why then, Sir, they say that one person ought not to be richer or greater than another; and that all the money, and all the good things of the land, should be divided equally,

equally, and that then there could not be any poverty. That's one thing they say.

Master. And do you think that is possible, John?

John. Yes, indeed, Sir; it seems plain and fair enough.

Master. Well, then, I'll tell you first, why it ought not to be; and, secondly, why it cannot be. It ought not to be, because whatever property any individual possesses at this moment, in this country, has been purchased with his own money, gained by his own industry, or given to him by his relations who worked for it. The laws of reason and universal justice always decreed our right to such property, and the laws of all countries long since confirmed that decree, by ordering that robbers should be hanged. But to bring the matter home to yourself. I think you have one hundred pounds in the Bank; and I know I pay you eighteen shillings a-week; your income then is about fifty pounds a-year. What would you say, if your fellow-servant Johnson, to whom I pay fourteen shillings a-week, which is all he has, was to insist on your paying him seven pounds a-year, to bring him to an equality with yourself? Would you readily consent to part with it?

John. No, I cannot say that I should like it, or think it reasonable.

Master. Why not?

John. Because it is what I earn by my own labour.

Master. And yet Johnson and you cannot be equal, while you receive fifty pounds a-year, and he but thirty-six. But we will suppose for a moment that you would willingly have given up the seven pounds, and that Johnson and yourself should soon after marry, and that you should have five children, and Johnson should have none; your incomes, it is true, would then be equal, but your wants would not. What is to be done in this case? for if you cannot be equal in all circumstances, the whole story of equality is nonsense. What step, I say; would you take in that situation?

John. Why I should apply to Johnson for relief.

Master. And what would you do if he should refuse, as no doubt he would?

John. I do not very well know, but I suppose the law would help me.

Master. In truth I suppose not ; for the law would tell you that the seven pounds a-year which you gave to Johnson became absolutely his own from that moment, and that he may relieve you or not, as he pleases ; and this ever has been, and ever will be, the law of all countries, let the knaves and fools of your club tell you what they please. But we will consider the matter another way. You know that you have lived with me seven years, and Johnson but two ; and you know that I can trust you with more safety than I can Johnson, because he gets drunk sometimes, and you are always sober ; and you know that you do all your work more cleverly than he does his. Do you think then that it would be fair if I were to take two shillings a-week from your wages, and to add them to his ?

John. No, really, I think not.

Master. And yet, if this new principle of equality is right, I ought to do so. And this leads me to tell you why it is impossible that all men should have equal shares of the riches, and good things, as you call them, of the land. If we can suppose that a country could for any time exist without religion, without a King, and without laws, as is the case of miserable France at this moment, it is true that for that time men would be equal ; that is to say, they would be equally poor, equally wicked, and equally foolish ; but this could not last long ; industrious men would soon become more comfortable than their idle neighbours ; good men would soon be distinguished from the multitude, and wise men would be again respected ; the industrious would become rich, the good would be beloved, and the wise would be again powerful. Now it is unfortunately the case, that nine men out of ten are neither wise, honest, or industrious, and therefore they are always behind-hand, and always must be, unless God Almighty should be pleased to improve our nature, which I fear we do not take much pains to deserve at his hands. Are you satisfied with my reasoning ?

John. Indeed, Sir, there is a good deal of truth in it, but yet I do think there can be no reason for such a vast difference between men : I mean, that some should be so very much richer than others. Now there's a Duke in the county where I was born that they say has thirty thousand a-year : isn't that a shame, Sir ?

Master. I cannot say, John, till you tell me whether he spends it.

John.

John. O I warrant you, Sir, he spends it all, and the folks say that he's as poor as a rat too, the more shame for him. Why he was three years in filling up one canal and making another. They say that job cost him five thousand pounds; and he keeps such a stud of horses, and six or eight carriages, and a matter of forty servants. If you talk of foolish people, I think he is foolish with a witness. It was only last year that he took in his head to grub up a fine wood, which had not been planted above ten years, because he thought it would look better about half a mile off; and so he has planted twenty thousand elms and oaks up the side of a hill, instead of in the valley. Now is it not a shame, Sir, to throw away so much money?

Master. If it were really thrown away, I should think it a shame as well as you; but in this country no man can throw money away, for every sort of expence, however idle it may seem, is in the end a public benefit. You forget that the nobleman whom you spoke of must have employed the poor of half a dozen parishes in the alteration of his wood and his canal; that perhaps twenty men and boys work in his stables; that forty household servants are supported at his charge; that the farmer, the butcher, the baker, the maltster, the cheesemonger, the coal-merchant, the tallow-chandler, the grocer, the linen and woollen draper, the shoemaker, the taylor, and all the people who are employed by them, derive a great part of their living from his extravagance, which is a misfortune only to himself, and a blessing to all around him. But what other complaints do your gentlemen and your books make?

John. Why, Sir, they say that the farmers in the country are very hardly treated about tithes, and that tithes are unjust; and indeed I think it is very hard that a man must plough, and dung, and sow, and reap, and all at his own expence, and at last the parson should come and run away with a tenth part of his crop.

Master. You may depend upon it, however, that the farmer gets as much at last as he would if he paid no tithe at all.

John. Nay, Sir, how can that be, for we know that he gets but nine parts out of ten of his crop?

Master. Here is the case, John. Suppose you was my tenant, and rented a farm of a hundred a-year of me, and that the tithe of your farm was worth twenty-five pounds.

pounds a-year : Now if tithes were to be abolished at once all over the kingdom, do you think you would be benefited by the alteration?

John. Yes, to be sure, Sir, for then I should get my whole crop, instead of only nine parts of it.

Master. You would get your whole crop, it is true, but you would afterwards pay me the value of the tithe ; for I, knowing that your farm was before worth a hundred a-year, and that you could afford out of your farm twenty-five pounds-worth of hay and corn to the parson ; I say I should immediately raise your rent to a hundred and twenty-five pounds a-year. So you see that the landlord, and not the farmer, would be the gainer ; and as the matter stands at present, the landlord, and not the farmer, is the loser.

John. Indeed, Sir, it is very true : You are certainly right ; but I never thought of it before ; it is really so.

Master. Well, I am glad I have answered so much to your satisfaction with regard to these matters. Have you any more of these terrible grievances ?

John. Why, Sir, we hear that Government is carried on at such a great expence that it must ruin the country, and that a great many of the placemen have two or three thousand a-year for doing nothing at all.

Master. That is not true, John, for in the whole number of the Ministers there are not above six whose salaries amount to such sums, and, God knows, they earn them dearly enough, by a laborious daily application to business, and by subjecting themselves continually to the envy and malice of their opponents. The Minister of State and the Shopkeeper's porter are paid respectively in proportion to their several trusts and labours. The former has the affairs of a nation in his charge ; may forfeit his head, as well as his reputation, by committing a mistake ; and is not certain of possessing his office from one week to another : The latter is answerable for nothing ; and though he gains but little, it is enough for his purposes ; and he is sure of constantly receiving it, and of keeping what he can save from it.

John. Well, Sir, that may be ; but I do not so much mean what you call the Ministers as the Courtiers ; they who attend the Royal Family ; a great many of them receive large salaries for doing nothing in the world.

Master. Indeed you are mistaken : It is very proper that they should be so provided for. A great King should

be

be attended by men of high birth; and their pensions and salaries must be such as to enable them to seem worthy of their master: the greatness of the country which he governs should appear in the magnificence of his courtiers. But to convince you that they are otherwise highly useful to the public, I need only say, that those whom you call Courtiers, are but so many channels through which the wealth of the country is poured upon the middling and lower orders of the people. You never heard of a Courtier who was a miser. Their incomes, like that of the Duke in your county, are distributed among their tradesmen, household servants and labourers, and are afterwards dispersed by those persons among thousands. The terrible consequences of a great and populous country being deprived of its Courtiers appears at this time most lamentable in France, where in one town only, the town of Lyons, ten thousand persons who lived by making rich dresses for the Courtiers are reduced to absolute beggary. But now, if the money which the English Courtiers receive annually, instead of being paid to them was to be given away once a-year at the gate of the Treasury to the poor of London and Westminster, what do you think would be the consequence?

John. Why to be sure, Sir, it would be a great comfort to them.

Master. No indeed, I fear it would be doing them a great injury. The consequence to quiet and well-disposed persons would be a week of holidays, by which they would offend their masters for three months; and the consequence to bad persons would be a week's drunkenness, which would, among other mischiefs, make them worse members of society than they are already. Were the money given in that manner, none but the alehouse-keepers would gain by it: as it is disposed of at present, it affords a permanent advantage to all ranks of people, and makes the splendor of the Court subservient to the trade and industry of the City.

John. But, Sir, we are not only told that we ought not to have any Courtiers, but they likewise say that we should have no King. I declare this was a thing that I could not tell what to make of, for I always loved my King. I was almost frightened when I first heard them talk of it, and I am not easy yet when I hear it spoken of. What do you think of it, Sir?

Master. Why, in truth, I should have been frightened too, recollecting how frequently God himself has condescended to warn us against the miseries which will befall us if we disobey or injure a King. I think, John, you are well read in your Bible. Remember *the Sixth Verse of the 12th Chapter of Proverbs*: "My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, for their calamity shall rise suddenly:" and so will it prove with your reforming club, and the rest of "them that are given to change:" their calamity has indeed risen suddenly, for their Country has set its face against them. And this is the work of the Lord, who says, in the *Eighteenth Verse of the 132d Psalm*, "His enemies will I clothe with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish." These, John, are the words of the Almighty concerning Kings; and however foolishly I might disregard my own interests in this miserable world, I would not run the hazard of eternal misery in the next by disobeying my God in a point of duty which he has been pleased so fully to explain to me.

John. Upon my word, Sir, you have made me think very differently from what I did about these clubs. I do not think I shall go any more to the club.

Master. I am heartily glad to hear you say so, for I should certainly dismiss you from my service if you were to go again, and that I should be very sorry to do, for I really esteem you. Go home then to your family, and enjoy with them the fruits of your labour. Bless God for having placed you under a Government which differs in one respect from all other Governments in the world, for our's is the only country upon the face of the earth in which the law protects the poor from any possible arbitrary attack of the rich. Bless God for having placed over us a King whom, while we obey him by the divine command, we cannot help loving, as the best father, the best husband, and the best master in the land. Above all, bless God for having put it into your mind to withdraw yourself from the delusive conversation of those who, having neither common sense, common honesty, nor property, would fain have made you, like themselves, a knave, a fool, and a beggar.

ANALYSIS AND REFUTATION

OF

“PAINE’S RIGHTS of MAN.”

BY AN INHABITANT OF LANGBOURN WARD.

Friends and Fellow Countrymen,

WITHOUT entering into the wide field of argument respecting the expediency of a Reform, a subject over which our Representatives, I am persuaded, will ever faithfully watch, you will all, I trust, allow with me that we *do possess a Constitution*, and such a one, fundamentally at least, as has been the envy and glory of the world: in this all Parties have been and are still generally agreed. Permit me therefore to advert to, and express my surprize at, the celebrity which has so lately been annexed to Mr. PAINE’S “*Rights of Man*,” a work of which I can venture to assert that it contains very little of what is new, and, what is still more necessary to the purpose, as I am persuaded you will soon be enabled to see, very little of what is deserving of a laboured or artful refutation. Nevertheless it has been cried up, inadvertently I dare say in a great degree, as a prodigy of invention, as the only school for legislation, and as containing principles and directions without which none of us can expect to be happy.

I will therefore now meet the question fairly by asking its warmest admirer what is its real doctrine? For my own part, I do not hesitate to compress its essence and tendency into the recommendation of “Equality and a Republican form of Government;” for if any thing more or less be the object, I confess myself to be unable to explore it. But have not our ancestors already made an experiment of both in this country, smarted severely for the mistake, fully proved their egregious fallacy, and been glad to return to the good old “Constitutional path of King, Lords and Commons?”

When Republicanism, as it was called, prevailed, and Monarchy was laid aside for a time, was Cromwell less than a King, although he did not dare to assume the Name? Did he suffer any of his coadjutors, as they once fondly
thought

thought themselves, to be upon an *Equality* with himself? Were not his dictates more arbitrary than those of any Despotic Sovereign; and did not all the people, rich as well as poor, tremble at his power or presence? And if these questions are so easy that any man can answer them in a moment, is not this sufficient to convince every candid mind, not only that no such thing did then exist as a pure and independent Republic, but also that, as power ever will exist somewhere, the man who, through the temporary phrenzy, delusion, and ultimate disappointment of his Countrymen, was enabled to get the executive department into his own hands, was then the complete sole superior of the three kingdoms, without any counterpoise, and absolutely their Dictator in all things?

As this point is, I think, sufficiently clear, I now proceed to Mr. Paine's inculcation of Equality amongst mankind. And here, as experience should ever triumph over any kind of declamation, the same experience may convince us that this will ever be the mere stalking-horse of concealed ambition, the end of which is only calculated for personal Usurpation and Power. For Cromwell, who turned the Parliament by whose authority he pretended to act, out of doors; Cromwell, who afterwards issued out *his own summons* to about one hundred and forty packed persons to take upon them the administration of affairs, most of whom were soon forced by him to declare the *fitness of their own resignation*;—this very Cromwell originally sowed all the seeds of his future despotism in the fertile but disguised hot-bed of *Equality*. When, however, he had obtained his wishes, how did his avowal of this *Equality* accord with his practice? I have Salmon's Geography, a very candid work, written expressly for the instruction of our British Youth in the elements of history and knowledge, now before me, and I beg leave to transcribe, *verbatim*, what he has recorded, for their use and improvement, upon the subject; from which, by the way, Mr. Paine appears to me to have extracted all his ideas of Republican Government and Equality, suppressing their fatal consequences to the people. "November 1648: The *Levelling doctrine* which Cromwell had introduced into the Army to pull down the King and the Parliament, gave him a great deal of trouble at this time. The Soldiers had been taught that the natural rights of the meanest Men were equal to those of the greatest; and that *Governors were no longer to be obeyed, than they studied the general good of every individual,*

*individual, of which themselves (the People) were judges**. And in pursuance of these notions, they entered into *confederacies and associations*, and made propositions to the Parliament, as well as to their own Generals, to introduce an *Equality among all people*, and from hence obtained the name of *Levellers*; which when they saw opposed by their Officers, they appointed a general rendezvous at Hounslow-heath, in order to put an end to all distinctions of Men; of which Cromwell receiving advice, he appeared unexpectedly among them at the head of some troops he could rely on; and having demanded the reason of their assembling there in such numbers without his orders, and receiving some insolent answers from them, he knocked down two or three of the forwardest, and charged them with his troops; and having wounded some and made other prisoners, he hanged up as many of them as he thought fit upon the spot, and sent several more to London to be tried for mutiny and rebellion, and thereby restrained this Levelling spirit for the present†."

Friends and Fellow Countrymen, you can now, I trust, judge for yourselves and your own happiness in remaining peaceful Citizens, or, as in former times, by becoming miserable and deluded *Levellers*. I have not sought to bias your judgment or inflame your passions by depicting the horrors of Civil war, the plunder of private property, the murder of the innocent, the violation of chastity among your wives and daughters, or by the loss of real liberty under a mild and limited Monarchy—I have only brought forward the experience of your ancestors to fix your own opinion of Mr. Paine's originality of thought, invention, and designs. If, in reality, he has suggested nothing materially new; if his documents have already been tried at the expence of national misery and individual remorse; if, instead of a good and gracious Monarch, which we have at present, the doctrine of Equality can only exist for a time, producing however an *absolute Dictator* at the best, surely you will at least be constitutionally expressive of whatever you may regard as a grievance, and at every period like the present express your resolution to support *Public peace and order*, because it involves, nay is the very basis of your own private tranquillity and happiness, and the means also of securing the same to your remotest offspring.

* Is not this and the subsequent passages almost Mr. Paine's language verbatim?

† Salmon's Geographical and Historical Grammar, the eleventh London edition, Page 378.

Q U E S T I O N S

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MUCH pains having been taken to influence the People against the Constitution, and the more indigent classes against the more wealthy, the following **QUERIES** are proposed by A PLAIN MAN :

1. Does any Government, or did ever any Government that can be quoted from history, give more certain protection to the lives, liberty, and property, than that of this country from the Revolution of 1688, and particularly since the accession of the present Royal Family?
2. Does that of France (if it has a Government) afford the same protection.
3. Has that of France the power of preventing assassination, rapine, and massacre? or either the power or inclination to punish them when committed?
4. What does an Englishman feel when he hears of a prisoner (Montmorin), acquitted by a Jury, being remanded to prison by a *Minister* (Danton), and his trial ordered by the same *Minister* to be revised; and that such a prisoner under such a commitment was murdered in prison, and no enquiry dared to be made for such a crime?
5. What would have happened to such a Minister in this country, if one could have been found mad as well as wicked enough to have committed such an action?
6. What can an Englishman think of persons of all ages and both sexes flying from the terror of such massacres as those of the 10th of August and the 2d and 3d of September, being for that *crime* alone banished from their families, under pain of death, and losing all their property by immediate confiscation?
7. What does any man (be his religion what it may) think of seizing at once all the property of the Clergy, driving from the country all that will not take oaths contrary to those which they had taken before under the laws then in being, and leaving a scanty subsistence to those of *easier* consciences under a very precarious tenure indeed?
8. Are the provisions for the indigent classes of the People in France more respected than those of the Clergy,

or

or the revenues of the Hospitals less plundered than those of the Convents?

9. Did in any age or any country the more wealthy classes pay more to the maintenance of the poorer by law than in this? or were the more affluent in any age or country more liberal in voluntarily contributing to the relief of the indigent by hospitals and other public charities?

10. In what country is the way to the highest situations more open to honesty, skill, and industry? and have we not in our manufacturing towns and countries men in the greatest opulence who rose by those honourable means from the lowest situations, and who enjoy as much respect as men of any order whatsoever?

11. Are the manufacturers in France at present in a better or worse situation than our's?

12. What are we to think of the wisdom or integrity of those who would persuade you to exchange your situation for that of France?

13. What does an Englishman feel when he hears that there are those who dare to profess that they will consult with Frenchmen for the subversion of our present Constitution?

THINK A LITTLE.

WHY should we go to loggerheads to please the French?

Are the French better friends to us than we are to ourselves?

Because they never could beat us themselves, is that a reason we should beat one another?

Before we get INTO a scrape, let us stay to see how they get OUT of one.

Rebellion is but a bad trade at best, and any man who can earn a shilling or two a-day in peace and honesty, in my mind had better stick to his old employment.

I should be glad to know how cutting one another's throats can make the price of meat lower; and how bread can fall cheaper when the labouring man is turned soldier, and the farmer run away, I cannot tell for the life of me!

None

None but a fool would rebel against beef and pudding. When I have nothing but frogs and soup-maigre, I do not know but I may rebel myself.

Pray how are we to get rid of taxes, if we are to leave off work and to take to fighting? and what are we to do for wages, for I reckon that none like that craft well enough to do it for nothing.

Then it is likely enough, for aught I see, that we may all get hanged for it; and let me tell you, neighbours, it is but a bad trade that a man cannot live by.

As for the good old King, they say we pay him a million a-year; but it is always to be remembered, that it is for the payment of the Public Officers of the State, as well as for the maintenance of the Royal Family, God bless them all!

And as for the Parliament, belike we should not be much better represented, if we had a thousand Members to pay at the rate of fifteen shillings a-day, as they do in France.—I suppose we must have a new tax for that.

I do not know a vast deal of the Constitution, nor other hard matters; but I guess it is a good one by its lasting so long, and folks being so well pleased with it; and I count, neighbours, that it has defended you and me many a good time; so we owe it a good turn; and if you be so minded, methinks we may as well defend it for this time.

THOMAS STEADY.

THE REVOLUTION QUACK.

A NEW SONG.

THERE was an old Man, but no great politician,
Who took a vile Quack for an able Physician ;
Says the Quack, “ I must make a complete Revolution,
“ And give your Old Body a new Constitution.”

Chorus—Derry down, down, down derry down.

“ Your Head is too strong, and your Legs are too weak,
“ Your Tongue prates too much, ’tis your Toes that should
speak.”

So he took him and turned him, to make People stare,
With his Head in the Mud, and his Heels in the Air.

Derry down, &c.

This aukward position soon made him so crazy,
He swore the Sun shone, when ’twas foggy and hazy :
Nay, more he’d be d——d (for his oaths were quite
frightful)

If any Man’s state could be half so delightful.

Derry down, &c.

So impious was he, in these termagant airs,
That he bit his own Tongue through, for saying its
Prayers ;

And because he would have no Religion or Teacher,
He broke the Church Windows and kick’d out the
Preacher.

Derry down, &c.

Then he tore and he scratch’d till the blood ran all o’er
him,

Yet vow’d none were ever so happy before him ;
But what was still worse, in the midst of those labours,
He sent out his Quacks to distract all his neighbours.

Derry down, &c.

Some

Some sound and in health, till these Doctors came to them;
 Felt symptoms within, very like to undo them;
 And others, by sympathy catching his madness,
 Swore that Reason was slavish confinement and madness.

Derry down, &c.

Oh ! Britain, beware of this dreadful disorder,
 Which rages they say in a neighbouring border;
 Nor e'er, to be reckon'd more free or more wise,
 Plunge your Head in the Kennel, and spurn at the skies.

Derry down, &c.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

N U M B E R IX.

CONTAINING

A Caution against the Levellers—The Rights of Man—Hints to the People of England.

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Bookellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

A

C A U T I O N

AGAINST THE

L E V E L L E R S.

THE Levellers are still using every art to excite the people against the Government, and particularly by working upon their passions, and especially upon the pride and vanity which all men have in a greater or less degree. They talk much of the National Will, and endeavour to persuade every man of his own personal importance, as having a right to bear a part in this National Will; and they tell people, "that the expression of the National Will, fairly collected, constitutes an authority to which all ought to yield obedience."

A

This

This has been the very language by which the people of France have been so grossly led astray, and involved in miseries of which we cannot see the end. In that country the property, the liberty, the lives of all, are at the mercy of this "National Will;" or, in other words, of "the leaders of a few hired ruffians at Paris."

For, what is meant by "the National Will?" Is it the will of *all* the people in the country? If it is, there can be no *submission* to it. If all are of one mind, all will agree. No man can be said to *submit* to what he himself desires. It can be no *duty* for a man to do what he pleases. The Levellers therefore mean something else by the National Will; and they have fairly told us, that they mean *the will of the majority*; and they boldly assert, that in all cases, the majority has a *right* to govern the minority.---The majority, indeed, *may* have the *power* to rule the minority; as, if four men are travelling together, and three of them determine to rob and murder the fourth, it is most probable they will be able to do it, if no other person shall interfere. But have these three wretches a *right* to rob and murder their companion, because they have the power to do it? And let us examine a little what is the *right* of the majority of a nation to govern, or, according to the French practice, to rob and murder the minority.

What is a nation?---It is a number of people who have submitted to one Government for their mutual benefit, and particularly to enable them to enjoy in safety the advantages which the country in which they happen to live, and their own acquisitions and industry, will afford them. It is a sort of partnership; and in England the partnership is at least of a thousand years standing. In a partnership, the articles of partnership decide in what manner the partnership shall be conducted. By consent of *all* the partners the articles may be changed; but if there are five partners, three cannot change the articles without the consent of the other two. If the partnership is for a term of years, they must all abide by the articles during the term. If it is for no term, the three partners, or two, or one, may dissolve the partnership, break up the business, and each man take his own share of the capital to himself; but as long as the partnership shall continue, *all* must abide by the articles, unless *all* shall consent to alter the articles; the majority cannot alter them. It may be said, this is a mere rule of municipal law; but it is the law of every

every country, because it is the rule which reason dictates in all mutual engagements.

What is the difference in this respect between partnerships and governments? Suppose five hundred men and five hundred women, of different countries in Europe, were to agree to go to some distant uninhabited island and settle there, and make a new nation; they must have some articles for their government during their voyage, upon their landing, and after they had taken possession of the country, and allotted the several parts to public and private purposes; and they would probably settle those articles before they set out upon their voyage. A majority might *by force* compel the minority to submit to any alterations in the articles; but they would have no *right* so to do; for the articles were the terms upon the faith of which they all engaged in their perilous undertaking, and therefore all would have a right to due observance of the articles. And such articles, for the same reason, never could be rightfully dissolved, except by mutual consent. A nation cannot, as partners in a trade may do, break up the business, and give each man his share of the capital. When once united in a nation, in one country, they are something like man and wife; they must take one another for better for worse, and if they jangle and quarrel, they will lead a life of misery.

A due regard to self-preservation, indeed, may compel men, in some extraordinary cases, to do what they otherwise could not justify. The common instance put is that of a shipwreck, when two men have seized the same plank, which cannot bear the weight of both. It is said that either may push off the other to save himself; but we shudder at the thought, though compelled to admit that it is just; and we must deplore the misfortune of a man reduced to the necessity of destroying an innocent fellow-creature to save his own life. We cannot, however, think he would be justified if he pushed his companion into the sea, merely that he might place himself more commodiously; and still less would he be justified, if he acted out of caprice, or only because he was the strongest. In the case before supposed, of people forming a Government in a desert island, upon the ground of articles entered into before they engaged in their expedition, it might happen that those articles were so foolishly framed, that the Government could not go on, which was nearly the case with the

first Federal Constitution formed by the Union of the American States after their Independency was established by the peace of 1783: and in such case undoubtedly the articles must of necessity be altered; and if the articles contained no provision for the purpose, and some obstinate or absurd men would not agree to the necessary alterations, the rest perhaps must compel them by force, on the principle of self-preservation. But certainly the majority ought to be sure that there existed a necessity for altering the articles before they attempted to make the alteration by force; otherwise they could not justify their act by any principles by which right can be distinguished from wrong. In America the alteration of their first Federal Government was made by consent. All were sensible of its imperfection, though they differed in opinion with respect to proposed alterations. To prevent the confusion which must have followed an attempt to change it by force, they agreed that the opinion of nine States out of thirteen should bind the rest; and considerable alterations were made accordingly, which were found upon reflection to be wise, and were at length voluntarily adopted by all the thirteen States.

As long therefore as any Government continues (and it must continue until dissolved by consent of all, or by force), all ought to abide by the articles upon which the Government has been established, unless altered by mutual consent, except in a case of absolute necessity, when due regard to self-preservation may supersede all other considerations. If *all* shall agree to alter the articles, if *all* shall agree to dissolve the Government, they may do so. But this cannot be at the mere will of a majority. A majority may by force compel the minority to submit to any change; but the question is, what is *the right*, not what is *the power* of the majority.

If the majority of a nation can, by their mere will, justly take from the rest the form of Government to which they have been used, why cannot the majority as justly take from them their lands and their goods, and all their property?--- For what is property? It is a right which the Government of a country gives to each man to enjoy certain things in a certain way. If the majority have a *right* to destroy the Government, which gives the *right* of property, they have a *right* also to take away the property itself, which is only a consequence of Government. And in truth, the form of Government under which a man is born is his property; and

and if it is that which he likes best, it is his most valuable property, and his dearest inheritance. The Government of King, Lords, and Commons, has always been esteemed, by all old-fashioned Englishmen, their dearest and best inheritance, and they have been ready to sacrifice all their other property, and their lives into the bargain, to maintain it.

We cannot deny that the majority *may* have the *power* to take from the *minority* the form of Government which the minority wish to keep. So they may have the power to take away all the property of the minority. In France we see, that those who have got the power into their hands, have (not six months ago) taken from the rest the form of Government which had been established by their National Assembly, and which all the people had sworn to observe; and, having taken away this form of Government, they have also taken away the lands and goods and all the other property of those who did not like to be forsworn, and to destroy the Government they had established. And it is much to be doubted, whether those who have done all this are the majority of the French nation or not, and whether they will be able to keep the power in their own hands much longer. If another set shall get the better of them, that set will call itself the majority, and treat them as they have treated the Members of the first National Assembly, of which almost all the leading men have been massacred or banished.

The true meaning therefore of the National Will, is the will of those who may happen to get the *power*, for the time, into their hands, whether they shall be the majority or minority. And how can it be otherwise? Suppose the people of this Island to be (as some suppose them) eight millions—How can the opinions of all of them be known? If asked their opinions, half of them perhaps would modestly and wisely say, they are not able to judge of the subject; they have not been used to think of such matters. And they might well add, “the people of France have been all talking about these matters for four or five years past, and they employed a number of wise men, for three years together, to consider of the best form of Government that could be established; and these wise men thought of nothing else during the three years, and then brought out a new form of Government, which was cried up as the wisest and best that ever was made; and the

“ French people all swore to observe it, and that no alteration should be made in it for at least ten years to come -- And what has happened?---When they set this
 “ wise Government a-going, it was like a rickety child,
 “ and could not walk; and so the National Will determined to get rid of it, and there is an end of the work
 “ of so many wise heads for three years together. If all
 “ these wise men, and all the French nation, after so
 “ much deliberation, could not judge of the best form of
 “ Government, how can we judge what is best, who have
 “ all our lives been hedging and ditching, or working
 “ in some manufacture, and thinking of our own business; or sitting in our easy chairs, and thinking of no
 “ thing?”

The Levellers, however, will not let these good people alone, and will make them give their votes. And now let us suppose that the whole nation is to be polled, and each man, woman, and child to give a vote. Well, there are four millions for the present Government, and four millions and one against it. What! shall one person determine this question, and at once overset that Government which has been admired as the accumulated wisdom of ages? It might happen, that all the wise men in the country were on one side, and all the fools and madmen on the other; and a majority of one with the fools and madmen. Would the wise men submit to this? They would be fools if they did. They must fight for it, and then the question would be *power*, and not *right*; and it is little probable, that the bodily strength of one fool, which made the majority in number against the old Government, would be able to turn the scale in favour of that majority when it came to a contest. The wisdom of the minority would more probably get the better. And what would happen in the meantime? Thousands of lives would be lost, half the country destroyed, manufactures and trade ruined, and in the end we should sit down where we were at first. But suppose the fools and madmen should get the better, what would be the consequence then? The fools and madmen must form a new Government, and prettily qualified they would be for the task! We have seen the wise men in France (for they had certainly some very able men, and very good men too, in their first National Assembly) have made a very foolish piece of work, after all their labours; and how can we imagine that the fools and madmen of England

land would do better? Nay, let us suppose the wisest heads in England employed to frame a new Constitution; and what reason have we to suppose they would do better than the French Assembly? For we must remember, that when Revolutions are on foot, and what is called the National Will is to have the rule, wise men cannot always do what they think right, but what will please those who govern them, those who have the art to make the National Will speak their language. So in France, the sensible men in the National Assembly did not approve of many things which were done. But they were surrounded by mobs and assassins, they were in continual fear of massacre, and were forced to submit to the wild schemes of others.

And if the majority of a nation has a right to change the Government to-day, the majority may change it again to-morrow. Suppose children excluded from voting for a change of Government till a certain age; fifteen for instance. Yesterday there was a majority of one for the old Government; so it stands. But to-day two boys attained fifteen, and they are against the old Government, and so it is set aside. On the following day two more may attain fifteen, or some of the former voters may die, and then the majority may be for the old Government, and set it up again. The next day, however, the case may be different; and so there may be a change from day to day: and when is the point to be settled? and how is the Government to be managed in the mean time? and who will obey a Government which may exist to-day, but may be overturned to-morrow? Where can be the security for our property, our liberty, or our lives, if this system shall be established, that the majority may change the Government whenever they please?

So much for the sovereignty of the National Will; which in truth means, in the language of Levellers, the will to submit to no Government at all, but in the words of Paine, "to govern ourselves;" or, in the words of Common Sense, "the tyranny of those who are able by force to compel others to obey."

Can no alterations then be made in a Government when it is once formed, except in cases of absolute necessity?--- Alterations may be certainly made, by the will of all; but as it is impossible to collect the will of all individually, therefore every nation has some power to whom it has intrusted the expression of the National Will; and by the forms

of their Constitution that power is generally enabled to make such alterations as may from time to time appear proper. In England the expression of the National Will is intrusted to the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled. Individuals may, in a quiet and orderly manner, address any of these Members of the Government, and express their *opinions* on any subject. But they cannot lawfully express their *will* upon any subject. For *will* is *controul*; and if they say they *will* that such a thing shall be done, they declare that they mean to compel the doing of it; and then the Legislature is no longer a free agent, it has lost its supreme power, the Government is dissolved, the people are no longer a nation, each individual must act for himself, and all will be disorder, confusion, riot, plunder, and blood.

There is also another position of these Levellers, equally destructive of all property, and of all Government. They say, "Every *man* has an equal and unalienable right " to a voice in choosing the Legislators of the country " by whom the enjoyment of his liberty and property is " regulated."---If every *man* has this right, why has not every *woman* and every *child*? for they are intitled to liberty and property as well as *men*. Oh, but women and children are not fit for these things!—Many women, and perhaps many children, are more fit than many men. A good, sensible, well-informed woman is certainly more fit than a foolish, ignorant, bad man, or a madman. However, confine the right to men, and exclude women and children, and let us consider what is the duty of Legislators.—To take care of the liberty and property of the women and children so excluded, and of all the people in the country. Who are likely to infringe the rights of others to their property?—Those who have no property of their own, or who, having less property than some of their neighbours, may have an inclination to take by force a little of their neighbour's property, and especially those who having had property have wasted it. What then does this unalienable right, so much insisted upon, amount to? The right of those who have no property, or little property, to take the property of others. For, as the great majority of the people, in every country, can have little property, and some of them none at all, if all are to elect, and the election is to be decided by the majority, the consequence must be, that those who have little or no property must govern the

the country, and therefore must have the power to take from the rest all their property, and divide it amongst themselves. Then, indeed, those who were before rich will become poor, and will in their turn have the same power of plundering the rich, and no doubt will use it; and so in the end there will be no such thing as property, because there can be no security for the enjoyment of property.

This is exactly what the Levellers want. They wish to draw the people in to overturn the Government, and put all property under confiscation, as they have done in France, hoping to get pretty good shares for themselves in the scramble; and then they will change their tone and say, "It is impossible for a country to subsist without security for property; there can be no security for property without a strong Government; therefore let us establish a strong Government, that property may be secure." Their end will be accomplished when they shall have acquired the property of their neighbours, and tyranny will be established to protect them in the enjoyment of their plunder; and we shall then hear no more of every man's right to a voice in choosing Legislators.

And if every man has a right to a voice in choosing Legislators, because his liberty and property are regulated by Legislators, for the same reason every man ought to be a Legislator, and then we should have a wise Parliament indeed! For the same reason also every man ought to be capable of being a Juryman, a Justice of Peace, and a Judge; for his liberty and property are regulated by Juries, Justices of the Peace, and Judges, each in their several stations. And an admirable Government we should have if this were the case! If a man not worth two-pence had power to commit another, as Justice of Peace, to be tried by twelve other men, not worth two-pence, as Jurymen, with the assistance of another man, not worth two-pence, as Judge, who would be safe? Such a Judge and such a Jury would cry out, in the language of Jack Cade, "Burn all the records of the kingdom, my mouth shall be the Parliament of England." If we had such Judges and such Juries, we should want no Legislators; they would make the law as they had occasion for it.

Why does not every man weave his own cloth, make his own coat, his hat, his shoes, his stockings, his shirt? build his own house, and do every thing else he wants to have done

done for himself out of his own way of business to which he has been bred ?--- *Because it is out of his way of business.* He feels that he is not fit for it ; that the weaver can weave the cloth, and he cannot ; the taylor can make him a good suit of cloaths, and he would make a bungling piece of work if he were to attempt it ; that he does not know how to make his hat or his shoes ; that he does not know how to build a house ; and if he were to attempt to build one, it would probably fall down for want of skill in erecting the walls, and placing the several timbers so as to tie them well together. He therefore lets other persons, who have sufficient skill, do all these things for him, because he knows they will do them better. And yet the law leaves him at liberty to do all these things for himself if he pleases ; because he can only injure himself by doing them badly. But the law does not leave him at liberty to be a Voter, a Legislator, a Justice, a Juryman, or a Judge, unless he is under such circumstances that there is reason to suppose he may be properly qualified. And why is this restraint put upon him ? Because he will not injure himself only, but the whole country will suffer if he acts badly or foolishly in any of these characters. No man can have an unalienable right to injure other persons, and therefore no man can have an unalienable right to be a Justice, a Juryman, or a Judge, or a Legislator ; or even to have a voice in the choice of Legislators ; because in all these characters, if he shall act badly or foolishly, he will injure others as well as himself.

As the Apostle Paul says, “ We have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing ? if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling ? But now hath GOD set the members, every one of them, in the body as it hath pleased him.”

In France, more effectually to destroy all Government, the Levellers are attempting to destroy all Religion. Some of the Leaders of their National Assembly have avowed themselves Atheists ; and have taught the people that there is no future state, that there is no God ; that the will of the people, guided by nature and reason, is the only rule of action ; and they have proposed to establish schools in every parish, to teach this lesson to children. Such opinions, if universally adopted, must dissolve all society ; and we need not wonder that the French Philosophers, for

so they call themselves, have disregarded every thing hitherto deemed sacred, every bond of social life, every thing which can tie man to man. Happily for us, the people of this country are not likely to listen to such teachers. Differing in opinion on many points, we all join in the great articles of religious belief; and all are ready with the Psalmist to exclaim, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. Verily, there is a reward for the Righteous; verily there is a GOD that judgeth the earth."

THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

WHAT are the RIGHTS OF MAN?

They are the Rights of personal Security; the Rights of personal Liberty; the Rights of personal Property.

The Right of personal Security is the protection of Life and Limbs.

The Right of personal Liberty consists in every one moving to whatever part of his country he pleases.

The Right of personal Property is the Right of every Man to enjoy his acquisitions. Tell me then, my Countrymen, where are these Rights enjoyed as they are amongst you?

Shew me an instance, since the glorious Revolution of 1688, where any one has been injured in his Life or Limbs without the punishment of the Offender.

Are not your Lives and Limbs not only protected, but are you not all furnished with the means of supporting them, since the most wretched may demand a subsistence according to the humane laws for the maintenance of the poor?

Can the meanest of you be imprisoned without having yourselves first trespassed on the security, the liberty, or the property, of another; and then is not your guilt pronounced by an impartial Jury of twelve of your equals?

Who dares invade your Property? Not the King himself; for his own is only protected by the same laws that protect yours.

Thus

Thus you are already in complete possession of the Rights of Man : and take care that you are not deluded out of them by wicked men, who would raise themselves on your shoulders, and who conceal Ambition under the Mask of Patriotism.

Let the situation of France be a warning to you. Has the Right of personal security been respected there? Their own Convention confessed that several hundreds of innocent Citizens were dragged last September from the prisons, and barbarously butchered.

Has the Right of personal Liberty been preserved? It, alas! was violated when those miserable victims were, without any form of accusation, loaded with fetters and plunged into dungeons.

Has the Right of personal Property been maintained? That question, I believe, will need no reply.

You know, you feel, what are the Rights of Man in England. What are the Rights of Man in France, except those of plundering and slaughtering, I am unable to tell you.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

H I N T S

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

IT is a melancholy consideration, that there should be men so infatuated as to entertain a wish to disturb the Constitution of this Country, under which all may live happily if it be not their own fault. The rewards of industry can under no system of Government be better secured than under this, nor the road to affluence more open to every man's exertions. Those who incline to abet scenes of confusion must be the idle and the dissipated, who being unwilling to labour for their own support, wish to share the enjoyments of those who by industry and prudence have been fortunate enough to acquire the necessaries and comforts of life. Let all men consider well what they have to lose and how little to gain before they countenance disorders

disorders in the country. Let them not be deluded by the visionary systems of Liberty which are insidiously held up to them, or by that phantom of Equality which cannot exist in any society of men; for if all property in the nation were equally divided to-day, men would perpetually be aiming by their exertions, by their diligence, by their ingenuity, and their virtue, to create an inequality. Are there not even now in France numberless distinctions--- Masters and Servants, Farmers and Labourers, Landlord and Tenants, General and Soldiers, Governors and Governed, as in other countries? In what then consists the Equality so much boasted of? It consists in the right of the idle to seize the property of the industrious, in the right of the Robber and Assassin to take away with impunity the wealth and life of his neighbour, and in the right which the mob exercises of setting a price upon corn, upon cattle, and upon every species of property which they think they have occasion for. Is this a sort of Liberty for which men would barter the happiness that is enjoyed in England, where men are only restrained from injuring their neighbour, where property is secured alike to the King and the Peasant, and where the paths to honours, power, and wealth are open alike to all, who by industry, ability, and honourable exertions, shew themselves worthy? If scenes of confusion were to take place in this country, the superior and most wealthy orders in society would not probably be the greatest or most immediate sufferers---The property of the Tradesmen and Farmers are most exposed to plunder---The Servants of Artificers, the Servants of Gentlemen will all suffer alike. If the Gentleman should be disabled from purchasing the wares of the Tradesman in the profusion he does at present, neither the Mechanic of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, or Norwich, can be employed at the high wages he now receives;---his ingenuity and industry, now rewarded with twenty and forty shillings a week, will not be of half the value when the Tradesman can only sell the necessaries of life. The Tradesman who now drinks his wine, and perhaps keeps his chaise from the profits of an extensive trade, must be content with necessaries; and the Merchant will find a very dull market for those numberless articles of luxury which he imports, the profits of which now enable him to enjoy all the elegancies of life. The Gentleman, whose fortune in such a struggle may be greatly lessened, will no longer
be

be able to deal so largely with the Tradesman ; he will not be able to maintain the industrious as he now does in the cultivation of gardens and pleasure-grounds---the numbers of his domestics must be greatly diminished---nor will he be able to continue the same wages he now pays, or maintain servants in the same degree of ease and comfort which he now does. All these, in their respective ranks, must greatly suffer.---Masters will be equally comfortable with fewer servants, but numberless servants will not find Masters, and those who do, will not receive half the wages and emoluments they do at present. Would the Poor be better taken care of by lessening the number of the wealthy ? Is the French army better regulated than under the former Government ? And is not the British Soldier better cherished than those of France, with all their boasted Equality ? Look to the different situations of the two armies, and there can be no comparison. Who then can gain by disturbances here ? None but the idle and vicious, who wish to share the comforts which are alone the rewards of talents, industry, and virtue---virtues which have been exerted by themselves or their ancestors for the benefit of the State, and have fairly intitled Men to that pre-eminence which they enjoy, whether it consists of wealth, distinction, or influence, which are all honourable incitements to virtuous acts, that make societies happy : Shall these be torn away by the hands of desperate gangs, who, under the mask of some public benefit, hope to create confusion and disorder, that they may find a more convenient moment for robbery and plunder ?

Forbid it, Britons ! Be vigilant, and avert such disgrace and misery ; nor suffer by your supineness this Land to be deluged in blood, where only true Liberty, Independence, and Security, are known.

A PATRIOT, and
TRUE FRIEND TO THE PEOPLE.

KING

KING AND CONSTITUTION.

A B A L L A D.

Tune, Vicar of Bray.

GIVE ear a while, my Countrymen, to this my strange
 relation,
 Of all the bustle rais'd of late in this our happy Nation
 By base and factious men, who thought themselves most
 wondrous wise, Sir,
 And with their false pretences fought to blind the people's
 eyes, Sir.

CHORUS.

O may the bliss we now enjoy ne'er suffer diminution
 From knaves who slander England's boast, our King and
 Constitution.

A Cent'ry now is scarce elaps'd, since with propitious smile,
 Sir,
 Fair Freedom cast a fav'ring look on this our envied Isle, Sir;
 And banish'd by a tyrant's frown from each surrounding
 nation,
 Her dwelling fix'd 'mongst Britain's sons, with happier ex-
 pectation. *Chorus, O may the bliss, &c.*

Here like a young and vig'rous plant, that meets its native
 foil, Sir,
 She throve, and soon was recompens'd for all her former
 toil, Sir;
 And, thankful for the favour shewn, with parent-like
 affection,
 To high and low, and rich and poor, extended her protection.

Long had her sons enjoy'd themselves in plenty, peace, and
 health, Sir,
 Increasing still from year to year in happiness and wealth,
 Sir;
 When lo! a pestilential Sect did suddenly arise, Sir,
 Which jealous of our happy state these blessings did despise,
 Sir.

They strove with all their pow'r and might, and many a
 dext'rous feat, Sir,
 Our guardian genius, *Liberty*, to tumble from her seat, Sir,
 And

And in her room their object was, foul *Anarchy* to place, Sir,
Rejoic'd to sink their countrymen in ruin and disgrace, Sir.

The means they took t'effect their end were false insinuations,
Convey'd to poor but honest minds in dark associations;
Thus while their cruel shafts they aim'd at all the weaker
part, Sir,
Assassin-like, in secret too, they poison'd ev'ry heart, Sir.

Their Leader, foe to human-kind, was *Satan's* firmest
friend, Sir,
And (like him) never stopt at aught that serv'd his wicked
end, Sir;
Throughout our Colonies of late he spread Rebellion's
flame, Sir,
And now throughout the Mother-land he tried to do the
same, Sir.

His cursed principles were these, "*I hate the Constitution,*
"*I hate my country's chief renown, the glorious Revolution;*
"*I hate King, Lords, and Commons all; I hate all moderation;*
"*I hate all men of peaceful minds, whatever be their station.*"

These principles thus spread around by dark designing
foes, Sir,
At length the hearts of Britons rous'd from long-enjoy'd
repose, Sir;
And soon in loyal concert join'd, they shew'd their reso-
lution,
With all their fortunes, lives, and strength, to save the
Constitution.

On all sides now, those traitors base were seen to hide their
heads, Sir,
And *Liberty* arose again, which many fear'd was dead, Sir:
Then let us all in wishes join, for harmony and peace, Sir,
And henceforth may such enmity 'twixt Britons ever cease,
Sir.

CHORUS.

And may the bliss we now enjoy ne'er suffer diminution
From knaves who slander England's boast, our King and
Constitution.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER IX.

CONTAINING

Village Politics.—Extract from Mr. Playfair's Reflections on the actual Force and Resources of France, in Jan. 1793.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Temple Bar, Strand; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any Quantity.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

Village Politics; a Dialogue between Jack Anvil the Blacksmith and Tom Hod the Mason; addressed to all the Mechanics, Journeymen, and Day-labourers, in Great Britain.

Jack. **W**HAT's the matter, Tom? Why dost look so dismal?

Tom. Dismal indeed? Well enough I may.

Jack. What's the old mare dead? or work scarce?

Tom. No, no; work's plenty enough, if a man had but the heart to go to it.

Jack. What book art reading? Why dost look so like a hang dog?

Tom. (*looking on his book.*) Cause enough. Why I find here that I am very unhappy, and very miserable; which I should never have known, if I had not had the good luck to meet with this book. O 'tis a precious book!

Jack. A good sign tho'; that you can't find out you're unhappy without looking into a book for it. What is the matter?

A

Tom.

Tom. Matter! Why I want liberty!

Jack. Liberty! What, has any one fetched a warrant for thee? Come man, cheer up, I'll be bound for thee.—Thou art an honest fellow in the main, tho' thou dost tiddle and prate a little too much at the Rose and Crown.

Tom. No, no; I want a new constitution.

Jack. Indeed! Why I thought thou had'st been a desperate healthy fellow. Send for the doctor then.

Tom. I'm not sick; I want Liberty and Equality and the Rights of Man.

Jack. O now I understand thee. What, thou art a leveller and a republican, I warrant.

Tom. I'm a friend to the people. I want a reform.

Jack. Then the shortest way is to mend thyself.

Tom. But I want a *general* reform.

Jack. Then let every one mend one.

Tom. Pooh! I want freedom and happiness, the same as they have got in France.

Jack. What, Tom, we imitate them? We follow the French! Why they only begun all this mischief at first, in order to be just what we are already. Why I'd sooner go to the Niggers to get learning, or to the Turks to get religion, than to the French for freedom and happiness.

Tom. What do you mean by that? ar'n't the French free?

Jack. Free, Tom! aye, free with a witness. They are all so free, that there's nobody safe. They make free to rob whom they will, and kill whom they will. If they don't like a man's looks, they make free to hang him without judge or jury, and the next lamp-post does for the gallows; so then they call themselves free, because you see they have no king to take them up and hang them for it.

Tom. Ah, but Jack, didn't their KING formerly hang people for nothing too? and besides, wer'n't they all papists before the Revolution?

Jack. Why, true enough, they had but a poor sort of religion; but bad is better than none, Tom. And so was the government bad enough too; for they could clap an innocent man into prison, and keep him there too as long as they would, and never say with your leave or by your leave, Gentlemen of the Jury. But what's all that to us?

Tom. To us! Why don't our governors put many of our poor folks into prison against their will? What are all the jails for? Down with the jails, I say; all men should be free.

Jack. Harkee, Tom; a few rogues in prison keep the rest
in

in order, and then honest men go about their business, afraid of nobody; that's the way to be free. And let me tell thee, Tom, thou and I are tried by our peers as much as a lord is. Why the KING can't send me to prison, if I do no harm; and if I do, there's good reason why I should go there. I may go to law with Sir John at the great castle yonder, and he no more dares lift his little finger against me than if I were his equal. A lord is hanged for hanging matter, as thou or I shou'd be; and if it will be any comfort to thee, I myself remember a Peer of the Realm being hanged for killing his man, just the same as the man wou'd have been for killing *him**.

Tom. Well, that is some comfort.—But have you read the Rights of Man?

Jack. No, not I; I had rather by half read the *Whole Duty of Man*. I have but little time for reading, and such as I should therefore only read a bit of the best.

Tom. Don't tell me of those old fashioned notions. Why should not we have the same fine things they have got in France? I'm for a *Constitution*, and *Organization*, and *Equalization*.

Jack. Do be quiet. Now, Tom, only suppose this nonsensical equality was to take place; why it would not last while one could say Jack Robinson; or suppose it cou'd—suppose, in the general division, our new rulers were to give us half an acre of ground a-piece, we cou'd to be sure raise potatoes on it for the use of our families; but as every other man would be equally busy in raising potatoes for *his* family, why then you see if thou wast to break thy spade, I should not be able to mend it. Neighbour Snip would have no time to make us a suit of cloathes, nor the clothier to weave the cloth, for all the world would be gone a digging. And as to boots and shoes, the want of some one to make them for us, wou'd be a greater grievance than the tax on leather. If we shou'd be sick, there wou'd be no doctor's stuff for us; for doctor wou'd be digging too. We cou'd not get a chimney swept, or a load of coal from pit, for love or money.

Tom. But still I should have no one over my head.

Jack. That's a mistake; I'm stronger than thou; and Standith, the Exciseman, is a better scholar; so we should not remain equal a minute. I shou'd out-*fight* thee, and he'd out-*wit* thee. And if such a sturdy fellow as I am was to come and break down thy hedge for a little firing, or to take away the crop from thy ground, I'm not sure that these new-

* Lord Ferrers was hanged in 1760, for killing his steward.

fangled laws would see thee righted. I tell thee, Tom, we have a fine constitution already, and our fore-fathers thought so.

Tom. They were a pack of fools, and had never read the Rights of Man.

Jack. I'll tell thee a story. When Sir John married, my Lady, who is a little fantastical, and likes to do every thing like the French, begged him to pull down yonder fine old castle, and build it up in her frippery way. No, says Sir John; what, shall I pull down this noble building, raised by the wisdom of my brave ancestors, which outstood the civil wars, and only underwent a little needful repair at the Revolution, and which all my neighbours come to take pattern by;—shall I pull it all down, I say, only because there may be a dark closet, or an inconvenient room or two in it? My Lady mumpt and grumbled; but the castle was let stand, and a glorious building it is, though there may be a trifling fault or two, and though a few decays may want stopping: so now and then they mend a little thing; and they'll go on mending, I dare say, as they have leisure, to the end of the chapter, if they are let alone. But no pull-me-down works. What is it you are crying out for, Tom?

Tom. Why for a perfect government.

Jack. You might as well cry for the moon. There's nothing perfect in this world, take my word for it.

Tom. I don't see why we are to work like slaves, while others roll about in their coaches, feed on the fat of the land, and do nothing.

Jack. My little maid brought home a story-book from the charity-school t'other day, in which was a bit of a fable about the Belly and the Limbs. The hands said, I wont work any longer to feed this lazy belly, who sits in state like a lord, and does nothing. Said the feet, I wont walk and tire myself to carry him about; let him shift for himself; and so said all the members; just as our levellers and republicans do now. And what was the consequence? Why the belly was pinched to be sure: but the hands, and the feet, and the rest of the members, suffered so much for want of their old nourishment, that they fell sick, pined away, and would have died if they had not come to their senses just in time to save their lives, as I hope all you will do.

Tom. But the times—but the taxes, Jack.

Jack. Things are dear, to be sure: but riot and murder is not the way to make them cheap. And taxes are high; but I'm told there's a deal of old scores paying off, and by them who did not contract the debt neither, Tom. Besides, things

are

are mending, I hope, and what little is done, is for us poor people ; our candles are somewhat cheaper, and I dare say, if the honest gentleman is not disturbed by you levellers, things will mend every day. But bear one thing in mind : the more we riot, the more we shall have to pay. Mind another thing too, that in France the poor paid all the taxes, as I have heard 'em say, and the quality paid nothing.

Tom. Well, I know what's what, as well as another ; and I'm as fit to govern.

Jack. No, Tom, no. You are indeed as good as another man, seeing you have hands to work, and a soul to be saved. But are all men fit for all kinds of things ? Solomon says, " How can he be wise whose talk is of oxen ? " Every one in his way. I am a better judge of a horse-shoe than Sir John : but he has a deal better notion of state affairs than I ; and I can no more do without him, than he can do without me. And few are so poor, but they may get a vote for a parliament-man ; and so you see the poor have as much share in the government as they well know how to manage.

Tom. But I say all men are equal. Why should one be above another ?

Jack. If that's thy talk, Tom, thou dost quarrel with Providence, and not with government. For the woman is below her husband, and the children below their mother, and the servant is below his master.

Tom. But the subject is not below the king ; all kings are " crowned ruffians ; " and all governments are wicked. For my part, I'm resolved I'll pay no more taxes to any of them.

Jack. Tom, Tom, this is thy nonsense ; if thou didst go oftener to church, thou wou'dst know where it is said, " Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's ; " and also, " Fear God ; honour the king. " Your book tells you, that we need obey no government but that of the people, and that we may fashion and alter the government according to our whimsies : but mine tells me, " Let every one be subject to the higher powers, for all power is of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God : whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. " Thou sayest, thou wilt pay no taxes to any of them. Dost thou know who it was that work'd a miracle, that he might have money to pay tribute with, rather than set you and me an example of disobedience to government ?

Tom. I say we shall never be happy till we do as the French have done.

Jack. The French and we contending for liberty, Tom, is

just as if thou and I were to pretend to run a race ; thou to set out from the starting post, when I am in already : why we've got it man ; we've no race to run. We're there already. Our constitution is no more like what the French one was, than a mug of our Taunton beer is like a platter of their soup-maigre.

Tom. I know, we shall be undone if we don't get a new *constitution*—that's all.

Jack. And I know we shall be undone if we *do*. I don't know much about politics ; but I can see by a little, what a great deal means. Now only to shew thee the state of public credit, as I think Tim Standish calls it. There Farmer's Furrow : a few years ago he had an odd 50*l.* by him ; so, to keep it out of harm's way, he put it out to use, on government security I think he calls it. Well ; t'other day he married one of his daughters, so he thought he'd give her that 50*l.* for a bit of a portion. Tom, as I'm a living man, when he went to take it out, if his fifty pounds was not grown almost to an hundred ! and wou'd have been a full hundred, they say, by this time, if the gentleman had been let alone.

Tom. Well, still, as the old saying is—I should like to do as they do in France.

Jack. What, shou'dst like to be murdered, with as little ceremony as Hackabout, the butcher, knocks down a calf ? Then for every little bit of tiff, a man gets rid of his wife. And as to liberty of *conscience*, which they brag so much about, why they have driven away their parsons, (aye, and murdered many of 'em) because they wou'd not swear as they wou'd have them. And then they talk of liberty of the press ; why, Tom, only t'other day they hang'd a man for printing a book against this pretty government of theirs.

Tom. But you said yourself, it was sad times in France before they pull'd down the old government.

Jack. Well, and suppose the French were as much in the right as I know them to be in wrong, what does that argue for us ? Because neighbour Furrow t'other day pull'd down a crazy old barn, is that a reason why I must set fire to my tight cottage ?

Tom. I don't see why one man is to ride in his coach and fix, while another mends the highway for him.

Jack. I don't see why the man in the coach is to *drive over* the man on foot, or hurt a hair of his head. And as to our great folks, that you levellers have such a spite against, I don't pretend to say they are a bit better than they should be ; but that's no affair of mine ; let them look to that ; they'll answer for that in another place. To be sure, I wish they'd set us
better

better example about going to church, and those things ; but still, *hoarding's* not the sin of the age ; they don't lock up their *money*—away it goes, and every body's the better for it. They do spend too much, to be sure, in feasting and *сандангоес* ; and if I was a parson, I'd go to work with 'em in another kind of a way ; but as I am only a poor tradesman, why 'tis but bringing more grist to my mill. It all comes among the people.—Their coaches, and their furniture, and their buildings, and their planting, employ a power of tradespeople and labourers.—Now in this village, what should we do without the castle ? Though my Lady is too rantipolish, and flies about all summer to hot water, and cold water, and fresh water, and salt water, when she ought to stay at home with Sir John ; yet when she does come down, she brings such a deal of gentry, that I have more horses than I can shoe, and my wife more linen than she can wash. Then all our grown children are servants in the family, and rare wages they have got. Our little boys get something every day by weeding their gardens, and the girls learn to sew and knit at Sir John's expence ; who sends them all to school of a Sunday.

Tom. Aye, but there's not Sir John's in every village.

Jack. The more's the pity. But there's other help. 'Twas but last year you broke your leg, and was nine weeks in the Bristol 'Firmery, where you was taken as much care of as a lord, and your family was maintained all the while by the parish. No poor-rates in France, Tom ; and here there's a matter of Two Million and a Half paid for them, if 'twas but a little better managed.

Tom. Two Million and a Half !

Jack. Aye, indeed. Not translated into Ten-pences, as your French millions are ; but twenty good shillings to the pound. But when this levelling comes about, there will be no 'firmaries, no hospitals, no charity-schools, no Sunday-schools, where so many hundred thousand poor souls learn to read the word of God for nothing. For who is to pay for them ? *equality* can't afford it ; and those that may be willing, wont be able.

Tom. But we shall be one as good as another, for all that.

Jack. Aye, and bad will be the best. But we must work as we do now, and with this difference, that no one will be able to pay us. Tom ! I have got the use of my limbs, of my liberty, of the laws, and of my bible. The two first I take to be my *natural* rights ; the two last, my *civil* and *religious* ; these, I take it, are the *true Rights of Man* ; and all

the rest is nothing but nonsense, and madness, and wickedness. My cottage is my castle; I sit down in it at night in peace and thankfulness, and "no man maketh me afraid." Instead of indulging discontent, because another is richer than I in this world (for envy is at the bottom of your equality works) I read my bible, go to church, and think of a treasure in Heaven.

Tom. Aye, but the French have got it in *this* world.

Jack. 'Tis all a lie, Tom. Sir John's butler says, his master gets letters which *say* 'tis all a lie. 'Tis all murder, and nakedness, and hunger; many of the poor soldiers fight without victuals, and march without clothes. These are your *Democrats!* Tom.

Tom. What then, dost think all the men on our side wicked?

Jack. No—not so neither—they've made fools of the most of you, as I believe. I judge no man, Tom; I hate no man. Even republicans and levellers, I hope, will always enjoy the protection of our laws; though I hope they will never be our law makers. There's many true dissenters, and there's hollow churchmen; and a good man is a good man, whether his church has got a steeple to it or not. The new-fashioned way of proving one's religion is to *hate* somebody. Now, though some folks pretend that a man's hating a Papist, or a Presbyterian, proves him to be a good *Churchman*, it don't prove him to be a good *Christian*, Tom. As much as I hate republican works, I'd scorn to *live* in a country where there is not liberty of conscience; and where every man might not worship God in his own way. Now that they had not in France: the Bible was shut up in an unknown heathenish tongue. While here, thou and I can make as free use of ours as a bishop; can no more be sent to prison unjustly than a judge; and are as much taken care of by the laws as the parliament-man who makes them. And this levelling makes people so dismal. These poor French fellows used to be the merriest dogs in the world; but since equality came in, I don't believe a Frenchman has ever laughed.

Tom. What then dost thou take French *Liberty* to be?

Jack. To murder more men in one night than ever their poor king did in his whole life.

Tom. And what dost thou take a *Democrat* to be?

Jack. One who likes to be governed by a thousand tyrants, and yet can't bear a king.

Tom. What is *Equality*?

Jack.

Jack. For every man to pull down every one that is above him, till they are all as low as the lowest.

Tom. What is *the new Rights of Man*?

Jack. Battle, murder, and sudden death.

Tom. What is it to be an *enlightened People*?

Jack. To put out the light of the gospel, confound right and wrong, and grope about in pitch darkness.

Tom. What is *Philosophy*, that Tim Standish talks so much about?

Jack. To believe that there's neither God, nor devil, nor heaven, nor hell.—To dig up a wicked old fellow's * rotten bones, whose books, Sir John says, have been the ruin of thousands; and to set his figure up in a church, and worship him.

Tom. And what mean the other hard words that Tim talks about. *Organization* and *function*, and *civism*, and *incivism*, and *equalization*, and *inviolability*, and *imperscriptible*?

Jack. Nonsense, gibberish, downright hocus-pocus. I know it is not English; Sir John says 'tis not Latin; and his valet de sham says 'tis not French neither.

Tom. And yet Tim says we shall never be happy till all these fine things are brought over to England.

Jack. What into this Christian country, Tom? Why dost know they have no *sabbath*? Their mob parliament meets of a Sunday to do their wicked work, as naturally as we do to go to church. They have renounced God's word and God's day, and they don't even date in the year of our Lord. Why dost turn pale, man? And the rogues are always making such a noise, Tom, in the midst of their parliament-house, that their speaker rings a bell, like our penny-postman, because he can't keep them in order.

Tom. And dost thou think our Rights of Man will lead to all this wickedness?

Jack. As sure as eggs are eggs.

Tom. I begin to think we're better off as we are.

Jack. I'm sure on't. This is only a scheme to make us go back in every thing. 'Tis making ourselves poor when we are getting rich.

Tom. I begin to think I'm not so very unhappy as I had got to fancy.

Jack. Tom, I don't care for drink myself, but thou dost, and I'll argue with thee in thy own way: when there's all equality, there will be no *superfluity*: when there's no wages there'll be no drink; and levelling will rob thee of thy ale more than the malt-tax does.

Tom. But Standish says if we had a good government, there'd be no want of any thing.

Jack. He is like many others, who take the king's money and betray him. Though I'm no scholar, I know that a good government is a good thing. But don't go to make me believe that *any* government can make a bad man good, or a discontented man happy.—What art musing upon, man?

Tom. Let me sum up the evidence, as they say at 'sises—Hem! To cut every man's throat who does not think as I do, or hang him up at a lamp-post!—Pretend liberty of conscience, and then banish the parsons only for being conscientious!—Cry out liberty of the press, and hang up the first man who writes his mind!—Lose our poor laws!—Lose one's wife perhaps upon every little tiff!—March without clothes, and fight without victuals!—No trade!—No bible!—No sabbath nor day of rest!—No safety, no comfort, no peace in this world—and no world to come!—Jack, I never knew thee tell a lie in my life.

Jack. Nor would I now, not even against the French.

Tom. And thou art very sure we are not ruined?

Jack. I'll tell thee how we are ruined. We have a king so loving, that he wou'd not hurt the people if he cou'd; and so kept in, that he cou'd not hurt the people if he wou'd. We have as much liberty as can make us happy, and more trade and riches than allows us to be good. We have the best laws in the world, if they were more strongly enforced; and the best religion in the world, if it was but better followed. While Old England is safe, I'll glory in her and pray for her; and when she is in danger, I'll fight for her and die for her.

Tom. And so will I too, Jack, that's what I will. (*sings*)

“ *O the roast beef of Old England!* ”

Jack. Thou art an honest fellow, Tom.

Tom. This is Rose and Crown night, and Tim Standish is now at his mischief; but we'll go and put an end to that fellow's work.

Jack. Come along.

Tom. No; first I'll stay to burn my book, and then I'll go and make a bonfire and——

Jack. Hold, Tom. There is but one thing worse than a bitter enemy, and that is an imprudent friend. If thou wou'dst shew thy love to thy King and Country, let's have no drinking, no riot, no bonfires; but put in practice this text, which our parson preached on last Sunday, “ Study to be quiet, work with your own hands, and mind your own business.”

Tom. And so I will, Jack—Come on.

Extracts from Mr. Playfair's Reflexions on the actual Force and Resources of France, in Jan. 1793.

FOR the marine of France, which never was equal to ours, there were about 1200 officers necessary, and in last August there were not 200 at all the different ports. From the brave Albert de Rioms, down to the midshipman, almost every officer was disgusted with that system of equality, which by a sort of paradox, not easily to be understood, gave the crew the right of commanding, and therefore imposed upon the officers a necessity to obey.

By land, sudden exertions may be made, and every man counts for a soldier, but it is not so by sea; the preparations are tedious, require care, and are after all limited in their extent. It is not here that the Marseillois and the assassins from the garrets in the suburbs of Paris, led on by valet de chambres and girls, will defend their country against our brave English seamen, and experienced captains.

I know, however, that the French will have men enough to man their navy, and more than they have ships to man, nor will these be landsmen; having now little or no trade, they will easily find seamen:—and here it should be observed, that the poverty and misery of the country serves in some measure to give it strength, for all those men who are without work to do, and bread to eat, are ready to fly to its defence.

The French marine wants officers, and it will be impossible for them to equip, in a complete manner, above one half of their ships. They want also discipline, for it is no exaggeration of the matter to say, that the men will not obey their officers; and this is so true, that many officers who are well enough disposed to defend their country, have left the service, merely because they know that the men only obey whilst it is their good pleasure so to do, but that when they are displeased, they immediately put their captain in irons.

To all this it is to be added, that France will require supplies of corn and other provisions by sea, next summer, to prevent a famine, which a war with England will render it impossible for them to obtain. This may appear to be an assertion made upon the faith of those rumours of famine already spread, but it is not so.

By all statements, and amongst others those of Mr. Necker, France exported of grain of all sorts, one year with another, the value of ten millions Tournois, which is not enough to supply the inhabitants of that country one fortnight. The quantity of grain exported on an average from any country, is
the

the measure of the surplus produced above what is consumed, which this statement proves to be very little.

Ever since the Revolution began, France has been in want of grain, and obliged to have supplies, because the circulation in the interior, from one town to another, has been greatly interrupted, and because agriculture has been in some degree neglected.

The circulation continues to be interrupted, which cause alone is sufficient to produce a partial famine; and last year the harvest was neglected more than ever: add to this, that the men in arms consume much more than men at home. From all these causes a famine is certain, if no supplies come in from other countries. It is, moreover, certain, that neither last year, nor the year before, were so plentiful as the year 1790, and even then there was not enough for the home consumption, without foreign aid.

From the paper read by Mr. Kerfaint to the Convention, on a war with England, as well as from citizen Brissot's report, it would appear that their views extend to South America and our territories in the East and West Indies: such propositions, in the present circumstances of France, are perfectly contemptible; and it is only in the Convention, or the Jacobin club, that the ignorance of men is great enough to listen to them without hissing the reader from his place.

In the present war, England may likewise reckon much upon the ignorance of all those who are employed in the marine and war departments; as on purpose to have, what they called, staunch patriots, they, last year, turned out almost all the clerks and secretaries employed, and put in Jacobins who know nothing of the nature of these affairs. This will appear to be a fact of no small importance to those who know, that in great and complicated affairs, a knowledge of the routine in which business has been used to go, is very necessary.

We may likewise, in this war, count upon that spirit of contradiction which frustrates exertion in every country where there are people of different parties; and we may be assured, that the town council of Brest, and the other sea ports, will not always be of the same opinion as the minister of the marine, who will therefore be crossed in many of his operations, as he has always been in every armament for St. Domingo.

The injury that their privateers may do to our trade is the chief thing we have to fear; but even that is more imaginary than real; for unless they can cope with us, or nearly so, in ships of the line, the depredations by privateers will not be of much importance.

The question of war or peace, it was not my business to discuss; I know not the secret negotiations, nor the concessions which the French might make; but were I to have given my private opinion, it would have been, that unless France abandoned, in the most solemn and complete manner, all idea of spreading her dominion, or extending her system of equality into other nations, it would be best for us to join in bringing her to reason. Self-preservation seems to be no less the law of political bodies than of individuals; and it is certain, that should France succeed in her projects on the Continent, England must in the end submit. I do not, indeed, imagine France would succeed though England should remain neuter; but the possibility of her doing so would, in that case, be greater, and for that reason we ought, in prudence, to bear our part in putting an end to her career.

War is certainly to be avoided, if with honour and safety it can. The blessings of peace are inestimable, and certainly more so at this time than almost any other; but without France abandons her system of universal liberty, as she calls it, our peace could have been of no long continuance; nor can the least faith be given to her promises, because the avowed system of the levellers is, that might creates right; and whatever they have the power and will to do, they think may lawfully be done.

It seems very clear that from a war with France we have, at present, very little to fear; we may rest assured that it will be a short one, and I am convinced, that if we act in concert with the powers on the Continent, and if, instead of a bloody manifesto like the Duke of Brunswick's, a wise and mild one shall precede the army that is to enter France, nothing will be more acceptable to the great bulk of the French nation, than to see order re-established, in any manner that may form something like a reasonable government.

The French have, both publicly and privately, declared that they will send one hundred thousand men to invade this country: there is little doubt but they will attempt it, if it was for no other purpose but to rid their country of part of its unfortunate and wretched inhabitants: whether they go to the bottom of the sea in their attempt to come over, or are destroyed at the mouth of our cannon, would be of no consequence to the National Convention, as from the effect of their proceedings, a famine must, in a short time, take them off were they to stay in their own country.

By their equality they have destroyed nobility and gentry; of course, all artizans, in every branch of business tending to
luxury,

luxury, are out of employ, and are obliged to live as a prey upon the public. For instance: What would become of the tradesmen in London, and the public at large, were the nobility and gentry to be chased out of the country? This must be better felt than it can be described, as it is well known to every individual, that all arts, sciences, and trade, have flourished, and still prosper, by the wants of the great and opulent of this kingdom.

There are many persons in the world to whom vengeance is sweet; and perhaps it is unfortunately but too true, that the violent proceedings of the French make them very proper objects of anger. But revenge ought never to be the ruling passion of man in any case, and least of all ought it to be ever directed against a multitude, in which great numbers must be innocent, others ignorant, and only a few guilty.

Though I am, and never have concealed it, even when I ran some personal risk, a great enemy to the French democrats: though I know their villany, and the unfairness of their way of reasoning, I am far from thinking the majority of the nation guilty; on the contrary, in Paris, where the guilt is certainly the greatest, I am certain that nine out of ten deserve censure, only for not having had courage enough to act when it was necessary.

Men, individually brave, do not always act in civil broils as if they were so; because, as no single exertion can produce any good effect, they only act when they have confidence in others who will act with them. Now, very unfortunately for the inhabitants of Paris, as they had been accustomed to a sort of implicit obedience in affairs of government, and were obliged all at once to become governors, ignorant at the same time of the true basis of liberty, and its first principles, which it is too late for men to learn on a sudden at years of maturity, there could be no unity nor mutual confidence among them: nor could even the great necessity of the case unite the inhabitants of a city, formerly drowned in luxury and pleasure; and, ever since its revolt, the sport of intrigue.

Before the Revolution, France was infinitely too much corrupted for its inhabitants to take advantage of the feeble state of its Monarch, so as to establish liberty; which to men of purer manners and of a less volatile character, would, at one time, have been not very difficult. At present it is only by wading through oceans of blood, and letting adversity and time teach wisdom to them, that they can ever gain this end. Nay, it is much more probable that they will fall under the hand of some despot before they can accomplish their design; for at present,

present, governed as they are by the lower order of people, who are the dupes and agents of the most designing amongst themselves, Revolution must follow Revolution, until poverty, and equality in misery, will put an end to the contest; for as long as they who take the lead can have the means of enriching themselves, others, who want to be rich also, will overturn them and take their place, as it has happened already.

It is unlucky that in England any language, truly descriptive of these proceedings, and of the persons who govern Paris, is disgraceful, and seems like the language of anger and prejudice. Facts seem exaggerations; and such epithets as suit the case, can only, with propriety, be used at Billingsgate. I shall not therefore attempt to describe the manner in which Paris governs France, but shall beg leave literally to translate language which I myself have heard employed by the people in the gallery of the National Convention to its members; and language that had the immediate effect of making the Assembly obey. I never was lucky enough to be present at a very tumultuous debate. This is a specimen of what passed on every ordinary day, when any question that interested the court, or his late majesty, was discussed*.

Upon a question seeming to go in favour of the king, the galleries rose, and said, with violent gestures and menaces, "Go home, you rascals; you men hired at eighteen shillings a-day; you don't deserve them. Shame, shame, you betray us; we are your masters; you are but deputies paid; you have sold us to the civil list, you anointed curs; but we know how to be revenged upon rascals like you, who were eat up with poverty and lice till we took you into pay, and you dare to betray the nation, you dogs!"

I can only say, that the French expressions were yet stronger than those I give. This happened in an evening sitting. I was in what is called "The Suppleant's Gallery," which had but few people in it, though the public galleries were very full.

The effect of these threats was instantaneous; and on counting the voices the third time, for the question had not been divided, it was found to be determined against the king, against justice, and against common sense. Such was, and still continues to be, the manner in which the violent party triumphs over the majority, upon all occasions, in which it is thought to be worth while. Yet the nation in which laws

* The question was concerning the terrace in the garden of the Thuilleries, which garden being shut, they wanted to make public, and by means of that question to animate the people against the king; in which they succeeded very rapidly, and very completely.

are so passed, pretends to be free, and to present an example worthy the imitation of all the world. It is not from men governed in this manner that England has any thing to fear ; and it is surprising that there should be men in England so lost to every sense of shame as to praise the French government ; and what adds considerably to the disgrace of some such persons is, that they know, perfectly well, that what I have now said about the galleries, is strictly true.

It is notoriously known to all the world, that on the 10th of August the Assembly passed decrees at the request of every blackguard who appeared at the bar, without so much as enquiring their names, in many cases ; and all the decrees passed unanimously for seven days.

Thus a ragged fellow, without coat or hat, and covered with blood, appeared in the name of the nation, and demanded the dethroning of the king ; others demanded a republic, and a convention, liberty and equality ; and, since that time, it is by the same means that they have brought their unhappy monarch to the block ; loading him, during his confinement, with abuse, from which, if his former quality of king, if even his virtues and love of his people could not exempt him, he should at least have been shielded by his misfortunes.

The French nation is in a state of madness and rage, dangerous to those who, without precaution, approach too near, as individual madmen are ; but to those who, taking the proper measures, attack them where they are least able to resist, the danger can be but small, and even then must be but of a short duration. Without plan, without order, and without industry, what nation can long be formidable ? and that the French have any one of these great requisites to success, I defy their most firm friends and strongest advocates to prove ; and till they can do so, I must persist in thinking my conclusions no less just and incontrovertible, than I trust they will prove salutary to the nation, in preventing all unreasonable apprehension or despondency.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER X.

CONTAINING

The Englishman's Political Catechism.—A Few Plain Questions, and a little Honest Advice to the Working People of Great Britain.

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE

ENGLISHMAN'S POLITICAL CATECHISM.

Q. WHAT is *Liberty*?

A. *Liberty* consists in the power of thinking what I please, and publishing those thoughts, provided I neither do, nor design, an injury. It consists in following what trade or occupation I choose. In serving God in any manner that my conscience dictates. In having secure possession of my own house, which is my castle. In spending my fortune according to my own inclination, and leaving it to whomsoever I will.

Q. Do you possess this *Liberty*?

A. I do.

Q. What is *Equality*?

A. *Equality* consists in the being governed by laws which render to every one *Equal Justice*. By which, no one can molest my person or my property; which give me unlimited freedom of action, if I commit no crime; which, if I am injured, afford me a remedy; and cause him who injured me, though ten times as rich, to feel that he is *on a level* with myself.

Q. Do you possess this *Equality*?

A. I do.

Q. What are the *Rights of Man*?

A. They are comprehended in his claim to the preceding

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ing

ing benefits. He has a *right* to think and speak what he pleases, provided he thereby commits no injury. He has a *right* to follow what trade or occupation he chooses. He has a *right* to serve God according to his conscience. He has a *right* to the secure possession of his own house, it is his castle. He has a right to spend his money as he chooses, and leave it to whom he will. He has a *right* to be governed by just and impartial laws, by which his person and his property are safe from the attack of violence or oppression; and which give him unlimited freedom of action, if he commits no crime. He has a *right*, if injured, to have a remedy; and to let the *proudest* and *richest* experience, if they dare offer him any violence, that they are his *Equals*, and entirely *on a level* with himself. These are the *Rights of Man*, of human nature, the glorious *Birth-rights of an Englishman*.

Q. Do you possess these *Rights of Man*?

A. I do.

Q. How became you possessed of them?

A. By the struggles of my ancestors in the cause of freedom; and by a *Revolution* without *cruelty*, or *blood-shed*, which placed William the Third on the throne, and drove slavery and arbitrary power into perpetual banishment.

Q. Are you threatened with the loss of these benefits?

A. No one will presume to threaten Us. We can only lose them by our own weakness or folly.

Q. Do you perceive the advantages of them?

A. I do.

Q. In what?

A. In the general prosperity of the Nation—in its extensive commerce—in its riches—its agriculture---its manufactures---its arts and sciences---its humanity---and liberality—in its being the most flourishing empire at this time existing on the face of the globe; and in its being the envy of the whole world. These are the advantages possessed by England; because we possess, and have possessed for an hundred years past, *real Liberty*, *true Equality*, and the *genuine Rights of Man*.

Q. If then you see and know the advantages of these blessings, will you not endeavour to preserve and defend them?

A. I will, at the hazard of my life.

Q. Are there any who wish us deprived of these precious, these peculiar advantages which we enjoy under the British Constitution?

A. I fear there are.

Q. Who

Q. Who are they ?

A. Desperate and Needy Adventurers, Traitors, and mortal Enemies to this Country.

Q. How do they proceed ?

A. By endeavouring to impose on our understandings ; hoping to make us believe that we do not possess, what we have possessed for so long a time. To blindfold and lead us in the dark. To deceive us with gilded visions and fantastic chimæras. And cause us to fall from a precipice, while quitting a substance, and grasping at a shadow.

Q. What is their object ?

A. Confusion, tumult, riot, and *Civil War*.

Q. To obtain what end ?

A. That while all things are in disorder, they may divide our substance.

Q. Do they produce any example for us to follow ?

A. They do. The example of *France*.

Q. What is the present state of *France* ?

A. No government---no laws---no security for persons or property---no religion---no agriculture---no commerce: The lands of the Gentleman, the estate of the Farmer, the stock of the Tradesman, at the mercy of the *Mob*: Sacrilege---murder---nay the murder of Women and Children---and to complete this wretchedness, these horrors---impending national bankruptcy, and *Famine* already begun.

Q. What do they call *this state of France* ?

A. They call it *Liberty, Equality, and the Rights of Man*.

Q. And they would willingly bring about this state in *England* ?

A. They would.

Q. By what means ?

A. By the same means that it has been effected in *France*: By stirring up the *Mob* against the Gentleman, the Farmer, and the reputable Tradesman. By saying to them, " Let us command, and you shall plunder. You shall kill, or drive out of the kingdom all moderate men, all who love their King and Country, and we will take possession of their Lands, their Tenements, and their Goods."

Q. Can this be true ?

A. It is as true, as that we are now living in the midst of prosperity, security, and abundance.

Q. How then have the French armies advanced into Savoy, Flanders, and a part of Germany ?

A. Because all men of property, to avoid being robbed, fly at their approach, and carry off every valuable they can

with them. The *armed Mob of France* then calls together the *Mob of the Country*, and tells them it is now *their* turn to govern. A *Mock-government* takes place, *under direction of the French army*, who eat up the provisions of the inhabitants, lay arbitrary fines on them, make use of their goods, and revel in luxury for a time, while their own countrymen at home are literally *starving*.

Q. And such a Government the desperate and needy Adventurers mentioned before, Traitors and mortal Enemies to this country, want to introduce here ?

A. Yes ; and would attempt it if they dared ; or if they could get their friends the French to assist them. But, thank God ! the *Navy of England* is not annihilated. It is time to reduce *this Mob* to order, which has destroyed its own country, and is now disturbing the peace of the world ; whose *Missionaries*, *Abettors*, and *Correspondents*, have been impotently trying to cheat us out of our senses ; and, if possible, excite commotions, which might embroil us at home, and hinder us from *punishing* their *dark machinations*, and *secret, insidious hostilities*. The men of *property* in this Nation have more good sense than to suffer themselves to be deprived of it under any ridiculous and absurd pretences ; nor will they permit any power on earth to wrest it from them. And being governed by just laws, under a King, who, though he *may* do all good, *can* do no man an injury, or perform a single action but as *the law* directs, will not basely and tamely resign themselves to the *arbitrary power* of the *Idle*, the *Ignorant*, and the *Profligate* ; though *dubbed* by the *French*, who have destroyed all other titles, and by the incendiary and seditious adherents of the French in this country, with the vain and insignificant terms, *as used by them*, of *Liberty*, *Equality*, and the *Rights of Man*. They are terms which can only be comprehended by Britons, who experience their effects, and bear them engraven on their hearts. With *Mobs* and with *Frenchmen*, they have quite a different meaning, and interpreted in *their* language, *Liberty* is *Licentiousness* ; *Equality*, *Plunder* ; and the *Rights of Man*, a *Right to commit every Crime of which Human Nature is capable*.

Q. You have two or three times mentioned *the Mob* ; to whom do you confine that appellation ?

A. I will first tell you who *are not the Mob* ; and then, who *the Mob are*.—The honest industrious Labourer and Mechanic is *not* One of the Mob. The faithful Workman

or Journeyman, who regards the interest of his Employer, *is not* one of the Mob. The Servant who is true to his trust, *is not* one of the Mob. *None*, however poor, who perform their duties in their allotted stations, belong to the Mob. *None* who demean themselves peaceably, and obey the laws, constitute a part of the Mob.---But, the idle, drunken Mechanic or Labourer *is* one of the Mob. The Workman or Journeyman who neglects the interest of his Employer *is* one of the Mob. The Servant whose fidelity cannot be relied on *is* one of the Mob. All who do not perform their duties in their allotted stations *belong to* the Mob. All who are noisy, clamorous, insolent, and disobedient to the laws, *constitute a part of* the Mob. Sturdy Beggars, Cheats, and Thieves, *are* all Mob.

Q. Do you mean to comprehend under this term the *lower Orders only*?

A. No---for the *very lowest* may from their good behaviour, industry, and honesty, be respectable in their situation. While he who is born in a *higher rank*, may, by low manners, rioting, drunkenness, dishonesty, and a defiance of the laws, degrade himself to the level of the Mob, and be only qualified for one of their Patrons and Ring-leaders.

Q. What is meant by the word *Reform*?

A. It is a *suspicious* word.

Q. Why?

A. Because I hear it made use of by the same people who want to deceive me with the terms *Liberty, Equality, and the Rights of Man*.

Q. What is their intention?

A. They have shewn it by their seditious speeches and writings. Their endeavours are to make us dissatisfied with our condition, and weary of being happy; to raise a spirit of discontent in the nation; and if they cannot push disturbances as far as they would, to push them as far as they can.

Q. Do you think then our present form of government is perfect?

A. Nothing human is perfect; but I believe it is more perfect than any other form of government in the world.

Q. Why?

A. Because the people governed are more flourishing, rich, and happy, than those of any other nation in the world. This is a truth which cannot be denied. And the

reason why other nations are not so flourishing, rich, and happy, as ourselves, is, because their form of government is not so good as our's.

Q. But do you not think the manner of Representation of the People in Parliament ought to be altered?

A. No.

Q. Why?

A. Because I consider it to be the foundation, the step, on which those enemies of the community want to mount, who, instead of the present form of Government, wish to have us under the dominion of the Mob.

Q. How so?

A. Because, if the mode of election be altered, and the scale of it extended, *men of property*, interested by that property in the real welfare and stability of the nation, would not be chosen; but *cunning, low-minded men, who had nothing to lose*. Actuated by the lust of power and gain, under the mask of *Equality*, they would give the watch-word to their Friends without doors—declare the King and Lords useless (as the case was in the days of Cromwell), and fabricate what *they would call a Republic*, but, in other words, a *violent usurpation of all the lands and property of the kingdom*, which would be at the disposal of them and their adherents.

Q. What makes you entertain this opinion?

A. The same causes always produce the same effects. We can only judge of events to come by those which have preceded. I have seen what has happened in France, whence their *men of property* are banished, or where they are groaning under the tyranny and oppression of an armed mob---while *Tinkers and Taylors* are converted into *Judges*---a *Shoe-maker* is *Attorney-General*---and *Fish-women, Murderers, Ruffians, and Banditti*, are become *Legislators and Generals*.

Q. It is better then, you think, to remain as we are?

A. Much better---for all those *who have any thing to lose*. The *Desperate and Needy* may find *their* advantage in a change. To *them*, like the Members of the *French Constitution*, *sixteen shillings or a guinea a-day* would be an object for which they would use all their endeavours to overthrow the Constitution. Especially, as they would, besides, have their chance of plunder, and a division among themselves, of the estates and goods of the Gentleman, the Farmer, and the reputable Tradesman.

Q. But are there not many people of honesty and hu-
manity

manity who wish for an alteration? who desire a different mode of representation? and many other speculative improvements.

A. There are. But it would become all of them to consider, whether these subjects are not made use of craftily and plausibly to ensnare their feelings. Whether, while thinking themselves principals, they are not instruments in the hands of *those* who aim at the subversion of our government, laws, and religion. Who know they can accomplish their end, only by sowing amongst us discord and mutual animosities---by influencing the passions of some, and the interests of others---thus gaining allies to their pernicious and destructive cause under the false pretences of Virtue, Equity, and Humanity.

Q. But surely *Grievances* should be redressed?

A. We should first be certain that the things complained of *are grievances*. Secondly, if they *are so*, as no Human State can be perfect, to enquire whether they are not *tolerable*. And thirdly, whether, by the proposed redress, a door may not be *opened* to the introduction of *greater evils*, and *grievances truly intolerable*.

Q. What *greater evils* do you suspect?

A. That *Republican, lawless Tyranny*, like that in France, would *usurp* the place of our *mild and equitable* government, under which *all who have any property*, though acquired by honest labour, would be in a *more abject state of Slavery* than the African negroes. And that *the Farmer*, instead of *disputing about tithes*, would neither have *corn* nor *money* to dispute about. For, according to the modern doctrines of Equality and Philosophy, his estate would be parcelled out among others; and though he might have the satisfaction of seeing the *Clergy* suffer, *he* would be a most miserable *fellow-sufferer*; and bitterly lament, when too late, the folly by which, under *the guidance of false friends*, he engaged in *schemes*, the extent of which he did not foresee; but consulting only his *present interest*, and *to save a few pounds*, find that he has *utterly and irrecoverably ruined himself, his Wife, and Children*.

Q. You mentioned *Philosophy*; what do you understand by that term?

A. I cannot readily answer you.

Q. Why so?

A. Because the grand Reformers of the world, and Perverters of plain and simple speech, have lately changed its meaning. For, as they give the name of liberty to li-

centiousness, and of equality to *plunder*, so by *philosophy*, which used to signify *the love of wisdom*, and implied likewise *the love of virtue*, they now mean *the love of vice and folly*.

Q. Can you give me an example?

A. I can; by referring you again to the state of France, where the doctrines of *modern philosophy* are now reduced to practice. This *practice* consists in depressing the wise and virtuous, men of talents and liberal education, or banishing them from the kingdom. While the newly-enlightened Pupils of Philosophy have placed at their head those same Murderers, Ruffians, Banditti, and Fish-Women, whom I took notice of before; and whom, from their thorough acquaintance with Ignorance, Brutality, and every kind of Vice, they stile *Philosophers* and *Reformers* of Mankind.

Q. Can this be really true? and shall we likewise be thus egregiously imposed on?

A. I shall answer your first question, as I have once already. It is as true, as that we are now living in a state of *prosperity*, *security*, and *abundance*. We might, indeed, be so imposed on, if words with us did not preserve their natural meaning: If we did not know that *Philosophy* is not the love of Vice and Folly, but the love of Wisdom and Virtue: If we could not see through the *cant* of *Liberty* and *Equality*, which would enslave our persons, and rob us of our substance: And if we did not plainly perceive from the example of France, that *National Bankruptcy* would be the consequence, and all the horrors of *Poverty*, *Disiress*, and *Famine*.

A FEW

A FEW,
PLAIN QUESTIONS,
AND A LITTLE
HONEST ADVICE
TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

“ *Learn to be wise from others’ harm,*
“ *And you shall do full well.*” Old Proverb,

Friends and Countrymen,

AT this time, when so much pains is taken to mislead and hurt you, there needs no apology from any man of common sense for giving you advice, and telling you his mind. I am no arguer nor politician, but I know *truth*, and can see a *state of facts* as well as those who are; and, in that view, I beg leave to put some questions to you and your *pretended* friends.

These gentlemen endeavour to persuade you, that you are an *oppressed* and a *miserable* people. I ask you, Did you know this before they informed you? and what kind of misery and oppression can it be, which the sufferer did not feel or find out for himself, but must learn from another person, and that other a stranger to him and his situation?

I would ask you too, How a people can be oppressed, where every industrious man receives better wages, has a better house over his head, puts better cloaths on his back, and better meat in his belly, than his father did before him, or ever hoped to do?

Further, I would ask you, What is the difference between your situation now and some little time ago, when all was peace, contentment, and good-humour among you? Is there any difference but this: That the country has improved, and trade and industry have thriven *still* faster than before; and that, looking to our neighbour kingdom, France, we have still more cause of thankfulness to Providence, that we are not, like her, laid waste with murder and oppression, and, in all points, going on from bad to worse, in the highway to perdition.

Have

Have you not too the same good King upon the throne, whom, not four years ago, the whole nation prayed for as for a father? and what has he done since (I challenge his enemies to tell you, if they can), that some bad men among you should treat him with disrespect and insult?

But (say your pretended friends) you are oppressed, because the nation is loaded with heavy taxes.---And out of whose pockets, I ask you, do those taxes chiefly come? ---From those who have wherewith to pay, or those who have it not? The house, window, and land taxes, the tax on offices, carriages, saddle-horses, and servants, the taxes on all the costly articles of dress, or furniture, or living, are these paid by the landholders and the rich, or by the labouring people, who have no such things belonging to them? Some taxes, I grant you, there are, which are paid by all, but still only in proportion to their means. And for what reason have your wages risen, but because your expence of living is greater, owing to those very taxes. Take off those taxes, and down fall your wages---where is your profit then*?

Besides, How are these friends of yours to take off these taxes? By declaring the nation bankrupt (say they), and striking off the National Debt:---and indeed it is clear, that while the Debt remains, so must the taxes to pay the interest. Now pray where would be our relief in that? The creditors of the nation are, for the most part, our own people---British subjects---and above all, they are our own traders, manufacturers, and artists, who have trusted to the nation, as to a safe bank, the savings and earnings of the industry of their whole lives. All these honest and worthy people your Reformers are to cheat and beggar at one blow. And so this capital remedy turns out to be, that we are to ruin one half of our people in order to relieve the other; who (as I have said above) will be, after all, just where they were, by the decrease of wages.---An excellent specimen this, both of the wisdom of those politicians, and of their notions of honesty and justice.

What say these Reformers next? That you are not a *free people*, because you have no vote in the choice of the Members of Parliament.---But when they tell you that

voting,

* It is a well-known fact (but I dare say your friends have concealed it from you) that over all Europe, wherever taxes are few, there wages are low in proportion; and the case might be the same with you, if our taxes were lessened.

quoting, and this alone, is Freedom, they tell you, a falsehood, TRUE FREEDOM IS FREEDOM FROM INJURY, It is the protection of law in life, person, property, and reputation. Which protection who is there among you, the lowest and most destitute, nay, the most vicious and criminal, that does not enjoy to such a fulness and degree, as was never enjoyed in any country but ours? Not the most notorious miscreant and robber, whom a whole country wishes to be rid of, but must have his solemn and expensive trial, and suffer a conviction on full law proof, by verdict of his country, ere the highest authority in the land, even the King himself, can touch a hair of his head. In a land where *this* is so, to tell the honest and industrious man that *he* is not free—*he* whom both State and King are for their own sake interested to encourage, is an imposition and insult to his common sense. Who can take any thing from him? Who can constrain, hurt, or meddle with him in his out-goings or in-comings, or in any of his connections or concerns? He has freedom of thought and conscience—freedom of speech and writing—freedom of conduct and action—so he but walk by the Scripture rule, of doing as he would be done by. It is security in these points that makes the *freedom*, because it is these that make the *happiness*, of the rational and well-disposed man. As to a vote or share in the Government, that is not matter of *freedom*, but of *vanity* and *power*, which only the restless and the proud man is anxious for, to satisfy his self-conceit, and which, God knows, are not the way to happiness, but to corruption of heart and vexation of spirit. What signifies (it is an obvious question) how or by whom the Parliament is chosen, if it is such a Parliament as secures the people in the aforesaid substantial enjoyments? Choose it any way you will, it cannot do you more good. That is the end, the sole end, of their being chosen at all: and when we are in possession of the end, why in the name of wonder should we quarrel with the means by which we have gained it?

But, say they, the state of Representation is worse than none at all, and Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, with Sheffield, and others the wealthiest and most flourishing towns in the kingdom, have no persons to take care of their interests. When they tell you this, they tell you a falsity. The whole House of Commons will take care of their interests. The whole House of Commons are deeply concerned

concerned in their welfare, and always provide for it. I really believe their prosperous state is partly owing to their not sending Members to Parliament; which indeed they themselves do not desire. Nothing begets so much ill-blood, so much sloth and drunkenness, as contested Elections. Where a man now depends on his industry for a subsistence, he would then depend upon his vote. I do not doubt but it might cost the nation many millions, and some of its best manufactories, to convert the wealthy trading towns into Boroughs. And what the better should we be? The French have had proof of *personal* Representation; and a rare instance it gives us of its wisdom. It enables them to send to the National Convention, the gloomy, bloody-minded MARAT, the cruel and insolent ROBERSPIERRE, and that precious sower of sedition TOM PAINE; men than whom Jack Ketch is a more worthy member of society. Whereas, as our Representation is at present, we have a happy mixture of statesmen, country gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, soldiers, and sailors, and men of the first talents and abilities in every line, experienced in their several professions, and deeply interested in the prosperity of their country. To alter this mode, so productive of the good of the nation, under some specious pretext, would be like the man who had a tree that bore him plenty of excellent fruit, and because it had rather an unsightly crack in the bark, but of no real consequence to the health and vigour of the tree, he tampered with it, and tampered with it till he killed the tree, and of course lost all the advantages it produced.

Look, I pray you, over the water, to that country (France) which these pretended Friends point out to you as a pattern, and describe as a Paradise; and take your choice of British freedom, such as we have it, or of French freedom, such as they have had for these two years past. There, to be sure, every man has *freedom of vote* in all things. And along with it what has he more? The *freedom* of having his house burned, his goods plundered, his wife and children knocked on the head, and himself hung up at a lamp-post, without judge or trial, or time to say his prayers—and all at the instigation of any scoundrel who dislikes his dress, or who owes him money, or has taken a fancy to his effects. These are the precious fruits of the French *Reform*. Is it possible that any creature, not in Bedlam, or fit for it, can think such a state desirable, or that the malice of any being (but Satan

Satan himself) could wish such misery, not to say to his own native country, but to any country or people on the face of the earth?

It will not answer the purpose to cry out (as these blusters do) that Parliament must be reformed, because it is prostitute and corrupt.—Nothing is easier than to give foul names, and it is easiest to those who have dealt longest in the practice. But where is the proof of the charge? Has not the nation prospered under this Parliament, and through all ranks and orders of the people, beyond example? Where is there a country so thriving, and so happy, so powerful, and so much admired by other nations? Has not the money of all Europe been flowing into our public funds? Are not the distressed and persecuted from all quarters, at this moment, flying to it for refuge? Know the tree, I say, from the produce: It cannot be a poisonous and rotten stock that produces such abundance of excellent and wholesome fruit. I ask, too, Where are the cruel and unjust or arbitrary laws which this corrupted Parliament has passed against the liberty of the people? That there are none such, the very proceedings of these Reformers prove: for if Parliament were *unjust*, they would be *jealous* too; and to restrain the liberty of speech and press, would be the first they would think of: No one would be allowed to wag his tongue against them, as was lately done every where, not in holes and corners, but in public streets, and in the face of day.

Another reason, it seems, why you are *not free*, is, that some have great estates, and some have none at all. But let those Levellers answer this: How were great estates at first made, but by industry and good fortune? and who will be industrious and active, if he and his are not to enjoy his gains? Would they have a law made to hinder a poor man from getting rich, as numbers among you are now daily, and happily, doing? Observe too how far this will go. If a duke or an earl has not a right to his great estate, what right has the small land-owner to his freehold?—What right has the shopkeeper to his shop, the tenant to his farm, the corporation to its privileges and freedom, the master tradesman to the work of his apprentices and servants, or any working man to his comfortable meal, while there is a beggar in the street that wants it? All and each of these rights depend on the established law of the land, protecting property as it happens to stand: Destroy it as to the great properties, and the small will not be long of following.

Observe

Observe too the consequence—For who but the rich take off the rare and costly manufactures, so various that it would take a day to tell them? And what then is to become of the many thousands who find their bread in the making of these articles?

I have seen another reason given to convince you that you are not free, namely, That there is a law for quelling mobs by military force. But what their meaning in this can be, it is difficult to conceive. Do they mean to say, that a mob is a right and lawful thing, or not a thing to be afraid of, or that they should be suffered to take their course, burning, plundering and destroying at their pleasure? To complain of this, then, is to complain of being protected against the most dreadful calamities, and that the orderly and quiet are not given up to the profligate and abandoned. It is to complain of the law, and civil magistrate: for when the military does act, it is not of itself, or by its own authority, but by order of the civil magistrate, in whose hands it is a mere instrument, just as his officers and constables are on any common occasion.

These men, however, assure you, that they are also the friends of *order*, and enemies to all mobbing and disturbance. But how does their dislike of them appear? In their labouring to fill your minds with discontent, jealousy, and rage; with an opinion that you are wronged, fleeced, and oppressed; with every feeling, in short, to make you desperate and impatient, and to move you to excess. 'Tis just as if a man should toss a match into a barrel of gunpowder in his neighbour's house, and assure him that he meant no harm, and that if any fire should happen there, he might depend on his assistance.

I must confess I have been heartily grieved to hear that any who are attached to the King and the Constitution, should have been concerned in riots, tumults, or any outrageous proceedings whatever. Let me tell all such, that they are totally and entirely wrong. It is an insult to that King and Constitution whose cause they pretend to maintain: To the King, whose province it is to punish; and to the Constitution, the noblest privilege of which is a fair trial by Jury. But men who are concerned in such doings are themselves judge and jury, witness and executioners, at one and the same time. It is too like the Mob Despotism of the French. They when they have murdered a man and plundered his goods, because perhaps he was loyal to his King, call it *Civisme* or Patriotism, or some such fine name. The people at Marseilles too put eighty poor Priests, bound hand and foot, into a leaky ship, and carrying them out to sea, left them in this most dismal condition.

dition to perish, and which *humane* conduct their *virtuous* Representatives applauded. No! my friends, if any man is so ungrateful as to vilify and insult that King and Constitution under which he lives so happily, give him over to the law, and let that teach him more gratitude, or at least more prudence, but never think you can be justified in taking that law into your own hands.

And now, my honest friends, I come to a point of the utmost importance to you. You have heard a great deal about Equality, and I will tell you where only it will be found: **IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD AT THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.** There, the Prince and the Peasant, who have done their duty, are regarded with the same benignant attention. There, not the situation in life, but the manner in which it is discharged, is only considered. A reflection that should teach the great humility, and the poor content. You have this cordial to reconcile you to all the distresses of life—That nothing but your own folly or neglect can deprive you of your future reward. I entreat you, therefore, by all that is dear to men, not to listen to those Atheists and Infidels, who everywhere abound---who would lead you by sneering and mocking at every thing serious, to neglect your duty to God, and to despise the mercies of your blessed Redeemer. If a man robs you of your little property, the loss may be repaired; **BUT WHO OR WHAT CAN REPAIR THE LOSS OF YOUR IMMORTAL SOUL?** Tremendous must be the account these men will one day have to give; for it must needs be that offences come, “but woe unto them by whom they come.” Think not that this solemn adjuration is unconnected with the present subject. It was the rejecting Christianity, and the hopes and fears of a future state, that led the way to those more than savage barbarities that have been committed in France. Their leaders have endeavoured, and but too successfully, to root out the very sense of religion from the minds of the people. There, the Saviour of the world, the Redeemer of Mankind, the Author of the most gracious dispensation that could be vouchsafed to blind and erring creatures, is treated with the most shocking levity and profaneness. It is scarcely credible to what horrid impieties their mad presumption has carried them. And are not the Freethinkers and Deists in this country aiming at exactly the same point? Have they not the cruelty to wish to destroy those consolatory hopes which religion affords, and which are the only substantial support

support that in their distressed poor, frail, dependent mortals have to trust to?

No! my friends and countrymen, listen not to those who would rob you of your religion or your loyalty. The Scriptures tell us to "fear God and honour the King:" yet these men would lead you to despise the one and insult the other. But to sum up in a few words the advice I mean to give you, and which advice I solemnly declare to be, in my opinion at least, most conducive to your temporal and eternal interests---Be firm and immovable in doing your duty to God; be true and resolute in your attachment to your King and Country; be honest, industrious, and contented, in your callings; be kind and peaceable in your demeanor; be virtuous and religious in your practice; and then how low soever your station in life may be, depend upon it, **YOU WILL BE HAPPY.**

NINETY-THREE: A NEW SONG. BY MR. DIBDIN.

ALL true honest BRITONS, I pray you draw near;
 Bear a bob in the chorus to hail the New Year;
 Join the mode of the times, and with Heart and Voice sing
 A good old English burden—'tis "God save the King."
 Let the year Ninety-three
 Commemorated be

To Time's end; for so long loyal Britons shall sing,
 Heart and Voice, the good chorus of "God save the King."

See with two different faces old Janus appear,
 To frown out the Old, and smile in the New Year;
 And thus while he proves a well-wisher to Crowns,
 On the Loyal he smiles, on the Factious he frowns:

For in fam'd Ninety-three
 Britons all shall agree

With one Voice and one Heart in a chorus to sing,
 Drowning Faction and Party in "God save the King."

Some praise a new Freedom imported from France:
 Is Liberty taught then like teaching to dance?
 They teach Freedom to Britons!—our own Right divine!
 A Rush-light might as well teach the Sun how to shine!
 In fam'd Ninety-three

We'll convince them we're Free!

Free from every Licentiousness Faction can bring;
 Free with Heart and with Voice to sing "God save the King."

Thus here tho' French Fashions may please for their day,
 As children prize playthings, then throw them away,
 In a Nation like England they never do hurt;
 We improve on the Ruffle by adding the Shirt!

Thus in fam'd Ninety-three

Britons all shall agree,

While with one Heart and Voice in loud chorus they sing,
 To improve "Ca-lia" into "God save the King!"

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST
REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER XI.

CONTAINING

*The Thirty-eight Hours Agony of M. Jourgniac Saint Méard.
—Address of the Burghers of Frankfort to General Custine.—
Farewell Address of the French Emigrants on their embarking
for Canada.*

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

At this period, when it is supposed that the greatest confusion reigns at Paris, and throughout France, when it is known that the prisons are crowded with victims to the suspicions of the infernal banditti who have usurped the Government of that unhappy country, and daily reports are circulated of massacres that make humanity shudder at their recital, it may not be thought unseasonable to select a short extract from a pamphlet published some months ago, entitled, "The Thirty-eight Hours Agony of M. Jourgniac Saint Méard," which, by one single example out of thousands, will convey to the people of this country some idea of the horrors of the late transactions in France, and give a specimen of the *blessings* of the Revolution, or Reform (as some are pleased to term it), that has taken place in that once gay and flourishing kingdom, but now (*heu! quantum mutatus ab illo!*) that wretched and miserable disjointed Republic (as they seem ambitious of calling themselves), if indeed a title so respectable may be allowed to the tyranny that now rules there with more than despotic sway. The whole of the pamphlet contains the history of St. Méard's arrest and imprisonment from the 22d of August. The most interesting part is his account of the transactions of the 2d and 3d of September, which he entitles His Thirty-eight Hours Agony, and is as follows.

THE THIRTY-EIGHT HOURS AGONY OF M. JOURGNIAC SAINT MEARD.

SUNDAY, the 2d of September. Our turnkey brought our dinner sooner than usual: his haggard countenance and his wild looks seemed to portend something disastrous.

A

At

At two o'clock he returned. We assembled around him : but he was deaf to all our questions, and, contrary to his custom, collected and took away all our knives.

At half past two, the terrifying noise of the people was frightfully increased by the noise of the drums beating to arms, by the three alarm-guns which were fired, and by the alarm-bell, which was heard on every side. During these moments of terror, we saw three carriages pass, accompanied by innumerable crowds of men and women, crying out like furies, *à la force, à la force*, meaning to slaughter. These carriages were driven to the cloister of the Abbey, which had been converted into prisons for the priests. In an instant afterwards, we heard that all the bishops and the other priests had been massacred, who, according to the term, had been *folded* there.

About 4 o'clock—The dreadful shrieks of a man, whom they were hacking with a sabre, drew us to the window of the turret, from whence we saw, opposite to the gate of our prison, the body of a man stretched out dead upon the ground ; immediately afterwards another was massacred, and so on.

It is utterly impossible to describe the horror of the profound and dreary silence, which prevailed during the executions, and which was only interrupted by the cries of the victims, and the sound of the blows of the sabres upon their heads : they were no sooner felled to the ground than a murmuring began, which was followed by cries of *Vive la Nation*, a thousand times more dreadful to us than the horrors of the silence which preceded them.

Between one massacre and another, we heard these words under our windows : “ We must not let one of them escape ; they must all be put to death, and especially those who are in the chapel, where there are none but conspirators.”

It was of us they were speaking ; and I think I need not say, that we frequently wished for the happiness of those who were shut up in the most gloomy dungeons.

Every species of the most terrifying apprehensions tormented us, and forced us from our mournful and sad reflections. If there was but a moment's silence in the street, it was interrupted by the noise within the prison.

At 5 o'clock M. Cazotte was loudly called for by many voices. Immediately after we heard a number of people upon the stairs, talking very loud, a clashing of arms,

arms, and cries of men and women. It was that old man, attended by his daughter, whom they were dragging away. As soon as he had passed the prison gate, this courageous daughter threw her arms round the neck of her father. The people, moved at this sight, sued for the old man's pardon, and obtained it.

About 7 o'clock, we saw two men enter our room, with hangers in their hands reeking with blood; they were conducted by a turnkey, with a torch in his hand, who pointed out to them the bed of the unfortunate Swiss Officer Reding. In this dreadful moment I pressed his hand, and endeavoured to keep up his courage. One of these men began to take him up in order to carry him away, but this unhappy creature stopped him, saying, with a dying voice, "Ah! Sir, I have suffered enough; I am not afraid of dying; for God's sake put me to death here." These words staggered the man, but, urged by his companion, he dragged him from the bed, threw him upon his shoulders, and carried him into the street, where death awaited him. My eyes are so full of tears at the recollection of this shocking scene, that I can no longer see what I am writing.

We looked at one another without uttering a word; we wrung each other's hands; we clasped each other in our arms. Motionless, in gloomy silence, we fixed our eyes upon the floor of our prison, which was lighted only by the moon, which shone so faintly that the triple bars of the windows did not even cast a shade. But soon the shrieks of new victims threw us into our former agitation, and recalled to our recollection the last words uttered by M. Chantereine, when he plunged the knife into his breast:—"We are all doomed to be massacred."

At midnight ten men, with sabres in their bloody hands, preceded by two turnkeys with torches, entered our prison, and ordered us to range ourselves at the foot of our beds. After having counted us, they told us, that we were answerable for each other, and swore, that if a single one escaped, we should all be massacred without being heard by the President or having any trial at all. These last words gave us a gleam of hope, for we did not yet know, whether we should be allowed to speak before we were put to death.

Monday, 2 o'clock in the morning, one of the prison gates was violently beat down: we at first thought it

was the inner wicket that was broken open to massacre us in our rooms ; but our fears were a little removed, upon hearing it said on the stair-case, that it was the door of the dungeon where some prisoners had barricaded themselves. A little while after, we heard that they had butchered every one that was found there.

At 10 o'clock, the Abbé l'Enfant, the King's Confessor, and the Abbé de Chapt de Rastignac, appeared in the gallery of the chapel which served us for a prison, into which they had got through a door that opened on the stair-case. They announced to us, that our last hour was approaching, and desired us to compose ourselves, in order to receive their benediction.

An electrical motion, which it is impossible to define, threw us all upon our knees, and with uplifted hands we received it. This moment, though consoling, was one of the most awful we experienced.—Upon the eve of appearing before the Supreme Being, and on our knees before two of his ministers, we presented a spectacle not to be described. The age of these two old men, their position above us, death hovering over our heads, and surrounding us on every side ; every thing conspired to give to this ceremony a solemn and mournful aspect :—it brought us nearer to the Deity ; it inspired us with courage ; all reasoning was suspended, and the most cold and incredulous amongst us was as much affected as the most ardent and the most susceptible.

Half an hour afterwards these two priests were massacred ; and we heard their shrieks !——

Is there a man who can read the following particulars without having his eyes filled with tears, and without feeling the chill and shudderings of death ? Is there one whose blood will not curdle with horror, and whose hair will not even stand on end ?

Our most important occupation was, to consider of the attitude in which we should put ourselves to receive death with the least possible pain, when we should be called upon to enter the place of slaughter. We every now and then sent some of our companions to the window of the turret, in order to know in what position the unhappy wretches, who were suffering death, placed themselves in the moment of their execution, that we might determine, from their report, in what manner it would be best for us to meet it. They informed us, that those who put their hands over
their

their heads suffered much longer, because the strokes—of the sabre were weakened before they reached the head ; and that sometimes even the hands and arms fell before the body ; and that those who put them behind their backs, probably felt much less.

On these horrid considerations were our thoughts employed. We reasoned on the preference to be given to this last mentioned attitude, and advised each other to take it, when it should come to our turn to be massacred!!!

About noon—Quite overwhelmed by more than supernatural agitation, and absorbed in reflections horrid beyond all expression, I threw myself upon a bed, and fell fast asleep. I am fully persuaded that I owe my existence to this moment of sleep ; during which it seemed to me that I was before the tremendous tribunal that was to judge me ; that I was listened to with attention, notwithstanding the terrifying noise of the alarm-bell, and the cries which I fancied I heard ; and that, after finishing my defence, I was discharged. This dream was so soothing to my mind, that it entirely dissipated my uneasiness, and I awoke with a prepossession that it would be realized. I related the particulars of it to my companions in misfortune, who were astonished at the confidence I preserved from this moment, to the time of my appearance before my terrible judges.

At two o'clock, a proclamation was read, which seemed to be ill received by the people : a moment afterwards some persons, from curiosity, or perhaps from an inclination to point out to us the means of making our escape, reared a ladder against the window of our room ; but they were hindered from getting up, by a cry of “ down, down ; it “ is only to carry them arms.”

The torments of the most choking thirst were united to the anguish of mind we felt every moment. At length our turnkey, Bertrand, appeared alone, and we prevailed upon him to bring us a pitcher of water, which we drank with so much the more avidity, as for twenty-six hours we had not been able to get a single drop. We spoke of this neglect to a Federate, who came with some other persons to inspect our prison : he was so much enraged at it, that he asked us the name of the turnkey, and assured us that he would exterminate him : he certainly would have done it, for he said so ; and it was only by the most urgent entreaties that we obtained his pardon.

This small alleviation was soon disturbed by the mournful cries we heard over our heads : we perceived they came from the gallery ; we gave notice of it to all those who passed upon the stairs. At last they went into the gallery, and we were told that it was a young officer who had wounded himself in several places, but not mortally, as the blade of his knife, being round at the point, could not penetrate. This attempt served only to hasten his execution.

'At eight o'clock the fury of the people began to subside, and we heard several voices crying out, " Pardon, pardon for those that are left." These words were applauded, but faintly. A gleam of hope however diffused itself over us ; some indeed believed their release to be so near at hand, that they had already got their bundle under their arm ; but soon fresh cries of death plunged us into agonies again.

I had formed an intimacy with the *Sieur Mausobré*, who had been arrested for being *Aid de Camp* to *M. de Brissac* : he had often given proofs of courage, but the fear of being assassinated had compressed his heart. I had however in some degree succeeded in dissipating his anxiety, when he came and threw himself into my arms, saying, "*My friend, it is all over with me, I have just heard my name mentioned in the fireet.*"

It was in vain for me to tell him that it might perhaps be some persons who interested themselves for him ; that, besides, fear could be of no use, but, on the contrary, might prove his destruction. Every remonstrance was useless ; his head was so far gone, that not finding a place in the chapel to hide himself, he got up the vestry-room chimney, where he was stopped by the grates, which he had the madness to attempt to break with his head. We entreated him to come down, and after much ado he returned to us, but he did not recover his senses. This was the occasion of his death, of which I shall soon make mention.

The *Sieur Emard*, who the day before had given me instructions for making his will, communicated to me the reasons for his being arrested. I thought them so unjust, that, to give him a proof how certain I was that he would not suffer, I made him a present of a silver medal, desiring him to keep it, and shew it me in ten years. If he reads this article, it will remind him of his promise. If we have

not

not seen one another, it is not my fault ; for I know not where to find him, and he knows where I am.

At eleven o'clock, ten persons armed with sabres and pistols ordered us to follow them one by one, and conducted us into the second passage, next to the little room in which sat the Tribunal that was to try us. I, with caution, drew near to one of the sentinels that guarded us, and by degrees contrived to enter into conversation with him : he told me, in a gibberish which indicated to me that he was from Provence or Languedoc, that he had served in the regiment of Lyonnais for eight years. I spoke to him in his country dialect, which appeared to please him, and the interest I had in pleasing him gave me such a flow of eloquence in his language, that I made him my friend so much, as to draw from him such expressions, as it is impossible for any one to set a proper value upon, who has not been in the situation in which I then was : "*I don't know thee, but yet I don't think that thou art a traitor ; on the contrary, I take thee to be a good fellow.*"

I ransacked my imagination to find out any thing that could tend to confirm him in this favourable opinion of me : in this I succeeded, for I prevailed upon him to let me go into the tremendous chamber to see a prisoner tried. --I saw two ; the one a purveyor to the King, who, being accused of conspiracy on the 10th of August, was condemned and executed : the other, who wept and could hardly speak, was already stripped, and was going out to be executed, when he was recognized by a workman in Paris, who affirmed that he was mistaken for another person. He was then sent away until farther information could be had. I have since heard that he had the good fortune to be released.

What I had just seen guided me as to the manner in which I should make my defence. I went back into the second chamber, where I saw some prisoners just brought from without. I desired my Provence friend to get me a glass of wine ; he was going for it, when he was ordered to conduct me back to the chapel, where I returned without being able to discover why we had been sent for ; there I found ten fresh prisoners, who succeeded five of those who had been tried. I had no time to lose in composing a new defence : I was at work upon it, being well convinced that nothing but firmness and frankness could save me, when in came my friend of Provence,

who, after having told the turnkey to shut the door with the key only, and wait for him without, came up to me and said, after having taken me by the hand, "I am come on thy account; there is the wine thou didst ask me for—drink." I had drank more than half of it, when he took hold of the bottle, and said to me, "Sacre di, my friend, how thou drink'st! I want some myself; to thy health." He drank the rest. "I cannot stay long with thee, but remember what I say to thee—if thou art a priest, or a conspirator belonging to M. Veto, 'tis all over with thee; but if thou art not a traitor, be not afraid, I'll answer for thy life."—"Ah! my friend, I am sure not to be accused of any thing of that sort; but I do pass for being a little of an aristocrat."—"That's nothing; the Judges know very well that there are honest men every where. The President is an honest man, and no fool."—"Be so kind as to beg of the Judges to hear me; that is all I desire."—"Thou shalt be heard, I'll answer for it. Well, good bye, my friend, take courage, I am going back to my post; I will endeavour to make thy turn come as soon as possible; let us take leave; I am thine with all my heart." After embracing each other he went away.

To be sensible of the influence this little conversation had upon my hopes, and how much it strengthened them, a man must have been a prisoner in the Abbey on the 3d of September 1792.

About midnight the uncommon noise which had not ceased for full thirty-six hours, began to abate: we thought that our judges and their *Executive Power* (for so the murderers were called) being worn out with fatigue, we should not be tried till after they had taken some rest; so we were putting our beds a little to-rights, when another proclamation was made, which was generally hooted at. A little after a man desired leave to speak, and we heard him say very distinctly to the people, "The priests and conspirators that are left, and are in that prison, have been bribing the judges; that is the reason why they do not try them." Scarce had he uttered these words, when we thought we heard them knocking him on the head. The noise and commotion of the people became terribly vehement; the noise increased every moment, and the ferment was at its height, when they came for M. Deson, formerly a life-guard, whose death-cries we soon after heard.

heard. In a short time two more of our companions were torn from us, which made me conclude, that my last hour was approaching.

At last, on Tuesday, at one o'clock in the morning, after having suffered an agony of thirty-seven hours, to which death itself cannot be compared, after having drank a thousand times of the cup of bitterness, my prison door was opened :—I am called—I appear—three men seize me, and drag me before the dreadful tribunal.

By the light of two torches I beheld the dreadful tribunal which was to decide on my life or death. The President in a grey coat, with a hanger by his side, stood leaning against a table, on which were papers, an ink-stand, pipes, and some bottles. There were ten persons round this table, some sitting some standing, two of whom were in waistcoats with aprons on ; others were sleeping upon benches. Two men in shirts all over blood, with hangers in their hands, guarded the door of the chamber ; an old turnkey had his hand on the bolts ; three men were holding before the President a prisoner, who appeared to be about sixty years of age.

I was placed in a corner of the room ; my keepers crossed their hangers over my breast, and told me, that if I made the least attempt to get away, they would stab me. Upon looking about for my Provence friend, I saw two national guards present to the President a petition from the section of *La Croix Rouge* on behalf of the prisoner before him. He told them that petitions in favour of traitors were useless ; upon which the prisoner exclaimed, “ It is horrible ! Your judgment is an assassination : ” To which the President replied, “ I wash my hands of it *. Take away M. Maille.” No sooner were the words pronounced than they pushed him into the street, where I saw him massacred through the opening of the door of the prison.

Immediately another prisoner was dragged in ; those who had hold of him, said it was *another* priest that had been taken from his *nest* in the chapel. After a very short examination he was ordered for execution. He threw his prayer-book upon the table, and was instantly dragged away and massacred. After this dispatch was made, I was led before this expeditious and bloody tribunal.

* I thought I perceived that the President pronounced this sentence with reluctance.—Several killers had come into the room, and caused great ferment there.

I have frequently found myself in dangerous situations, and have always had the happiness to be able to command myself; but in this, the horror inseparable from every thing that passed around me would have overwhelmed me, had it not been for the conversation I had had with my friend of Provence, and especially for my dream, which always came back into my mind.

The President sat down to write, and after he had probably taken down the name of the unfortunate man just dispatched, I heard him say, "Now another." I was then presented, two of my keepers holding my hands, and a third held me fast by the collar.

The President speaking to me,] "Your name, your profession?"

One of the Judges.] "The least lie undoes you."

"My name is Jourgnac Saint Méard; I have served five and twenty years as an officer in the King's regiment of infantry; and I appear before your tribunal with the confidence of a man who has nothing to reproach himself with, and who consequently will not tell a lie."

The President.] "We shall see that; one moment* ;—Do you know the cause of your arrest?"

"Yes, Mr. President. I am accused of being the conductor of the Journal Antifeuillant, entitled the Court and City Journal.—The truth is, that it is not so: it is one Gautier, whose appearance bears so little resemblance to mine, that it must have been out of mere malice that I have been taken for him; and if I could have put my hand into my pocket"—

I made a motion, but in vain, to get at my pocket-book; one of the judges observing it, said to those who held me, "Let his hands loose." Upon which I laid upon the table the certificates of many clerks, factors, tradesmen, and housekeepers, with whom he had lodged, to prove that Mr. Gautier was the conductor and sole proprietor of that Journal.

They had proceeded thus far, when the keeper of the prison burst into the Court in great consternation to give the alarm that a prisoner was making his escape up the

* Here he looked at the jailor's books, and the accusations, which he shewed the Judges.

chimney. The President gave orders that he should be fired upon, but at the same time said, that if he escaped, the gaoler should answer for it with his head.—It was the wretched Mausobré ; he was fired at several times, and the turnkey, seeing that he did not succeed, lighted some straw, the smoke of which brought him down half suffocated, and he was dispatched before the gate of the prison.

I then said, “ Mr. President, I am likewise accused of “ having been upon the frontier—of having raised recruits there—and of having conducted them to the Emigrants ; but here, Gentlemen, are certificates, to prove “ that I have not been out of Paris *these three and twenty* “ *months*. Here also are declarations of housekeepers “ with whom I have lodged for some time, which affirm “ the same thing.”

Then, after a sort of mock trial, very short, Monsieur St. Méard had the good fortune to shew incontestably that the accusations against him were palpably false, and he was released, and immediately fled to this country for security.

Extract from a Foreign Newspaper, containing the ADDRESS of the BURGHERS of FRANKFORT to GENERAL CUSTINE ; in which it is seen, that FRENCH PRINCIPLES are as odious to the POOR as to the RICH.

IN the Gazette of *Deux Ponts* of the 18th inst. is the following article :—“ We are authorised by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at the “ Palatine Court of *Deux Ponts* to announce, that the “ contribution levied on the town of *Frankfort* is about to “ be restored to it *in toto*. The brave CUSTINE, who is “ enchanted with this restitution, as well as all the Ministers of the French nation in Germany, have orders to “ make it publicly known, that *the National troops only* “ *march to punish the enemies of France, not to lay the purse of* “ *citizens under contribution : and their friends will ever see,* “ *that their justice is equal to the delicacy and loyalty of the* “ *principles which direct them.*”

Upon this it must be observed, that General CUSTINE had at first demanded 2,000,000 florins from *Frankfort* ; he afterwards reduced the sum to 1,500,000.—he again raised it to 2,000,000, offering to take the fine artillery of the town as 500,000 florins. One million had been paid : security had been given for the other, till an answer could be

be obtained by the two Deputies of *Frankfort* sent to make representations to the National Convention. The fine artillery of *Frankfort*, so much coveted, was not given up. The inferior classes of citizens rejected the proffered bounty of the French General, who had ordered that the contribution should only be levied on such of the inhabitants as were worth 30,000 florins: and as *freedom* ought to be no less the right of citizens of *ancient Franconia* than of the *modern Franks*, the former have *freely* expressed their ideas on the subject in the following address:

“ My General, in the *Manifestoes* which you have published, you have addressed yourself to us, and have therein but too well shewn, that you have the best intentions in the world with respect to the *lowest class of citizens*. We therefore place a perfect confidence in you. Permit us then, in our turn, to speak as openly for once, and declare to you our real sentiments.

“ You wish to protect us against oppression, which, God be praised, the citizens of *Frankfort* never heard of, much less ever experienced. You wish to procure us that liberty which we enjoy already; so, *my General*, if you think we have been hitherto oppressed, exposed to exactions or any evil treatment, it must have been the enemies of our welfare who wished to deceive you. Our Regents are also our fellow-citizens. Magistracy itself is chosen from amongst our fellow-workmen, and it forms a third of our whole Council. It is Citizens who are employed in the Administration of the Public Purse, and the accounts are given in, from time to time, to the whole body of *Burghers*. The Public Charges are supported not less by the persons of the Magistracy than by ourselves: they have no other prerogatives than merely the respect necessary for the exercise of their functions of Public Authority. Amongst us, the rich have never formed a distinct class: their easy circumstances benefit every rank, and their flourishing commerce renders us all happy. He who can, and will work, finds a subsistence in every profession; the proof of which is the great number of monied men amongst us. No country is without its poor: but amongst the numerous private establishments (which owe their existence to the liberality and riches of our ancestors, as the support of our common welfare,) our poor find such assistance, that this little State surpasses in this respect many others far more extensive and flourishing. The charity bestowed by
the

the rich, daily, on the indigent, though done in secret, is publicly known ; but we shall be silent on the subject, because they want no acknowledgment. Our taxes are very trifling ; no one can complain of them. In short, we are all happy and content. Our general prosperity is too intimately connected with the happy Constitution, and with the welfare of our rich citizens, for us not to interest ourselves in their favour. Thus, when *any General* exacts such considerable sums from our richest citizens, we, the middling class, and poor Burghers, we also are punished, inasmuch as commerce and manufactures must necessarily suffer from it : the more that is taken from them, the less we shall gain of them ; so we shall all be the losers.

“ Thus then, *my General*, since you set yourself up as a *Defender of Liberty*, and as a *Protector of the Public Welfare*, you would be acting against your own principles, not to leave us as we are, and desist from those contributions which we have as little right to pay you as our richer citizens, and which must tend to the ruin of our State, hitherto so happy. Moreover, we know not how to manifest more sincerely our zeal for the welfare of the French Republic, than by our ardent wish—that *she may ever find herself as happy in her Constitution as we are in ours*. Indeed, we expect from you, *my General*, to leave us in the quiet enjoyment of our Constitution, which we have hitherto regarded as an invaluable blessing, as well as the advantages which are attached to it ; and thereby preserve your own glory, our highest gratitude, and universal praise ; the brightest jewel in the Civic Crown, because it never tarnishes.

(Signed)

THE BURGHERS OF FRANKFORT.”

Frankfort, Nov. 5, 1792.

THE
FAREWELL ADDRESS
OF THE
FRENCH EMIGRANTS
TO THE
INHABITANTS OF DOVER,
ON THEIR EMBARKING FOR CANADA.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.]

GENEROUS ENGLISHMEN !

WE are about to quit you, and you mix your tears with ours. Tell your Brother Countrymen, who are going to afford us a new asylum, that out of four hundred French Refugees, to whom your walls have given protection, few have given you cause of complaint, but many have endeavoured to merit your regret and your esteem.

Receive in return for your kindnesses, Truths that may be useful to your own happiness; receive them from the mouths of experience, and deep-felt gratitude.

Yes ! may the remembrance of the misfortunes you have seen us suffer (unfortunate victims of our fidelity and our duty) for ever unite you under the Standard of your King and Constitution.

Sailors ! Tradesmen ! never forget that it is in the prosperity and tranquillity of the rich that you will ever find to consist the subsistence and happiness of your families, who in their turn may enrich themselves also.

Artists ! contemplate the arts desolated and banished from your neighbours' territories, which are stained with blood.

Merchants ! you who are the link that unites mankind in general, unite together ; for your labours cannot prosper if you do not pay respect to good order, to prosperity, and public welfare.

Magistrates and Officers ! keep a constant and vigilant watch on the sacred trust of the British Constitution, and the King you love. Teach your Fellow-Citizens to be

no

on their guard against those artful designing men; who, under the pretext of being the Friends of the People, wish to throw the Country into the same confusion as now experiences our unhappy France. They declare themselves Philosophers, Friends of Mankind, who with the words Happiness and Humanity in their mouths, crimes in their hearts, and swords in their hands, have laid our country in ruins and ashes, drowned it with their enormities, and plunged our families into ruin.

May the remembrance of us bring to your minds all Religion trampled under foot—the Throne of a powerful Monarch overturned—the virtuous and unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth fallen a victim to the infamy of seven hundred assassins, Judges and Executioners—our wives and children, our brethren and friends massacred—many of ourselves, formerly rich, and at the head of Armies and Fleets, now left destitute wanderers and proscribed.

This, Englishmen, is the Liberty they offer those People who may be inconsiderate enough to suffer themselves to be seduced.

They declare War against Kings and Ministers, but they plunder and murder their Subjects, or make them associates in their crimes. When the Shepherd is overcome, the scattered flock becomes an easy prey to wild beasts.

May our examples, our misfortunes, cause us to be looked on with an eye of pity by your Countrymen. Continue, brave and generous Englishmen, to unite under your King and happy Constitution.—Continue to prove to Europe, and the World at large, that the People can never be happy but with a proper respect, maintenance, fidelity, and obedience to the Laws of their Country.

Dated DOVER, the 15th February 1793.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

PRESERVED AGAINST

REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS.

A COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

NUMBER XII.

CONTAINING

The Character and Reign of Louis XVI. with a Translation of his Will—and Poor Richard; or, the Way to Wealth and Content in these Troublesome Times.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. DOWNES, No. 240, Strand, near Temple-Bar; where the Booksellers in Town and Country may be served with any quantity.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

T H E
C H A R A C T E R A N D R E I G N
O F
L O U I S X V I .

WITH A TRANSLATION OF HIS LAST WILL.

THE enemies of this unfortunate Prince, thinking it necessary to make him odious, before they could venture, powerful as they were, to murder him, represented him to the people as a tyrant; as one, whose constant endeavour it had been, to obstruct, retard, or destroy their liberty. If indeed this character had belonged to him; though his condemnation would still have been unjust; by their own laws which they had sworn to observe, there

A

would

would be less reason to regret him ; he might have fallen wrongfully, but not innocent. But if he was, in all things, the very reverse of that description ; if he was of a mild and generous disposition, ready at all times to make any sacrifice, however great, for the good of his people ; if he made such sacrifices willingly, when no men had the power to force him ; if he was, in all situations, anxious for their safety, careless of his own, unwilling that a single drop of blood should be shed on his account, even in the most just defence ; if this was his true character, and can be proved by all the actions of his reign, the hateful name of *Tyrant* must belong most properly to them who, in defiance of all justice, dared to brand him with it.

As we have heard, from the beginning of the troubles of his kingdom in 1789, that he gave way on almost every occasion, and sometimes to demands so very extravagant, that it might naturally be thought no King would ever have assented to them, it has been generally supposed, till lately, that he was weak and timid. In this respect, the dreadful close of his mild reign and blameless life has but too fully justified him. He has displayed, at this period, a courage not to be shaken by the most tremendous situations, a presence of mind not to be put off its guard by the most ensnaring questions. Knowing this, we now find it necessary to believe, that every sacrifice he made of his own interests, rights, and happiness, was made sincerely, though not always prudently, with the hope of giving happiness to all his people.

To give a general view of the character of this worthy monarch, this good-hearted conscientious man, we may use the words of those who knew him best. M. Necker, for seven years his Minister, and part of the time forced upon him, in a way which could produce no great affection between them, thus writes of him :—" I doubt whether among the public men, alas ! now left alive, there is one who had more means of knowing him than myself ; not only because I served him seven years, but also, because the nature of my ministry obliged me to submit to him the greatest number of affairs : and I here declare, to the face of his enemies, and in all the sincerity of my heart, *that I have never observed, that I have never seen, even by surprise, in this monarch treated with such cruelty, a single voluntary movement, a single sentiment derived from his own soul, and properly his own, which was not exactly conformable*

to the laws of morality and honour ; and which did not display to an attentive observer his desire of doing good, his compassion for the people, the natural sweetness and moderation of his temper. Let the testimony of a man be believed, who, though long about the King, is now connected with him neither by gratitude nor hope. I never suffered him to gratify himself by bestowing on me a favour, and I am now retired for ever from the world."—*Reflexions présentées à la Nation Française*, p. 17.

But the evidence of a violent Revolutionist, and determined enemy to the Royal power, may also be produced in favour of Louis XVI. The testimony of one who, as he hated the authority, would probably have hated also the person of the King, could he have discovered in his character any thing to justify such an enmity. This is M. Rabaud de St. Etienne, author of a Republican History of the Revolution of France.

In June 1789, when the Duke de Liancourt went in private to the King, to persuade him to dismiss the troops which then surrounded Paris, he succeeded, by representing to him the misery and slaughter likely to be produced by violent measures. On this occasion, M. Rabaud thus expresses himself in his History : " All that Louis requires is to have counsellors who are worthy of his heart, that heart naturally inclined to benevolence." In another passage he describes him in these words : " A Prince whose manners were naturally simple and correct, who took no delight in pomp, whose wants were limited, and who had no other wish than to see his people happy." After describing the King's flight, his being taken at Varennes, and brought back a prisoner to Paris, the same historian thus speaks of him : — " The King declared among other things, that his intention had been to go to Montmédé (a French town on the frontier), in order to prove to all the world that he was free; to secure the kingdom from foreign invasion by a vigilant attention to the frontiers, and to visit every place where he might consider his presence to be necessary." " Several," he adds, " were convinced of the sincerity of the King, to whom no scheme hath ever been proposed, which was not calculated to interest his heart. His advisers would not have presumed to own to him, that he was going to make war upon his people."

Many more testimonies from very competent and respectable

spectable witnesses, such as M. Lally Tollendal, &c. might easily be collected ; but this extorted by the mere force of truth from an enemy to Royalty, must be more convincing than a thousand others, which might perhaps be suspected of partiality.

But of all proofs, those drawn from facts are most decisive. A short sketch, therefore, of such actions of the reign of Louis XVI. as mark beyond a doubt his genuine disposition and character, will refute and put to everlasting shame, the malice of those enemies who have described him by the name of *Tyrant*. A tyrant whose whole reign consisted of endeavours to relieve the sufferings of his people, and of sacrifices to comply with their desires !

Louis XVI. succeeded to the crown of his grandfather Louis XV. in 1774, at the age of twenty. His first feelings and conduct, on coming to the throne, proved the integrity and candour of his mind. Instead of being intoxicated, as youth might naturally be, with such an elevation, he was only struck with dread and diffidence at the weight of duties belonging to his crown. In the first edict of his reign this feeling was thus expressed : " Seated on the throne to which it has pleased God to raise me, I trust his goodness will support my youth, and guide me to the means *by which I may make my people happy.*" In the same edict he declared, what, to the last moment of his life, his actions proved, " that for the sake of his people, *no sacrifice would ever seem to him too great.*" [Edict June 1774.]

His father the Dauphin, who died in 1765, has long been justly celebrated as a man of singular virtue and religious goodness. While he lived he attended most strictly to the education of his children, and to the care of filling them with pious and benevolent dispositions. Louis XVI. though he had so early lost this excellent father, lost not the respect due to his great goodness ; and one of the first Ministers appointed by him was M. du Muy, whom his father had strongly recommended. The others were such as only a virtuous Prince would choose, men known to the public for their talents, or particularly distinguished by popular favour. Of these, M. Turgot, whom he long honoured with the name of *Friend*, was in his heart a democrat ; M. de Mirosmenil was then actually in banishment for opposition to the court.

His reign was immediately marked by acts of justice and utility.

utility. The purpose of an edict in November of the same year 1774, was to lower the price of corn, by making the circulation of it within the kingdom more easy. His next step was to recal the *Parlemens*, or chief courts of justice throughout the kingdom, which Louis XV. had lately banished for opposition to his measures; but Louis XVI. hastened to show that he preferred justice to power. On the 3d of January 1775 he abolished the oppressive mode of collecting taxes, by consolidating a certain sum upon a certain district, by which the honest and industrious had been forced to pay for the idle and dishonest. About the same time some wicked people, who found their private interest hurt by his regulations concerning corn, contrived, by various arts, to stir up insurrections. Here the goodness of the King was strikingly displayed. His proclamations were full of affection and mercy; and when he sent M. Turgot to Paris, to quell the tumult there, his words were such as were much celebrated then, and deserve for ever to be remembered: "Go, my friend," said he, "whoever has a conscience as clear as yours and mine, can have no fear of men."

The formidable power of issuing the *lettres de cachet* he entrusted to the most upright magistrate that could be found, and one most famous for persevering opposition to oppressive measures, M. de Maleherbes. At the same time he caused an entire reform to be made in the state-prisons, and set at liberty all persons unjustly confined; and so little was he inclined to any harshness of that kind, that many years after, when the Bastile was destroyed, there were found in it only six prisoners. Louis endeavoured next to abolish the slavish right of personal service, exacted by the proprietors of land from their tenants, under the old laws. But here his benevolent designs were defeated, by the very *Parlemens* he had so lately recalled from banishment. On the failure of this measure his Minister, Turgot, was obliged to resign; and M. de Maleherbes requested his dismissal also; but the King very strongly resisted the departure of this worthy man. When he still persisted in desiring it, and alledged as his reason, "that he found it impossible to do good;"—"Well, Sir," replied the King, "must I then also resign my place?" evidently meaning, that as he could not give up his throne on account of such disappointments, it was the duty of an honest man to share them with him, and to bear his part

in those mortifications and difficulties which it was impossible for his Sovereign to avoid.

Though baffled in this first attempt to give freedom to the peasants of his kingdom, Louis did not cease to pursue an object so desirable to a feeling mind. In 1779 he abolished servitude in all the Royal Domains ; and though he had found it impracticable to force them to it, he invited all proprietors of land to follow his example. About the same time he began to establish provincial assemblies throughout France, for the regulation of taxes, and other matters, which, till then, had been managed arbitrarily and oppressively, by the officers of an absolute crown. By the aid of these assemblies he gradually obtained his great object, the abolition of personal servitude, and other oppressive customs.

In 1780 he put an end for ever to the inhuman practice, so long a disgrace to the French law, called the *Preparatory Question* : by which was meant the torturing of persons accused, before trial, to make them confess the crimes laid to their charge. In this horrid custom the innocent had been of course confounded with the guilty. One such act of justice and humanity, in his reign of an absolute monarch, might surely have excused much greater faults than Louis ever had.

An arbitrary and oppressive tax called the *Taille* was by him lightened, and confined to a fixed regulation. The establishments of the Royal Hospitals were by him made effectual for the relief of the poor ; and new institutions of that kind were founded ; as were also free-schools of various kinds for instruction in matters most important to the public welfare. In a word, wherever we turn our eyes throughout France or her colonies, during the reign of this good King, we find his benevolent heart exerting itself to destroy abuses, put an end to oppression, and establish useful regulations.

In 1787, the calling together of the *Notables*, or eminent men of the country, to deliberate on the state of the nation, was the act of his wish, in imitation of the patriotic King Henry IV. From this act he conceived such hopes, unfortunately false ones, of public advantage, that on the day after he had issued his edict for that purpose, he wrote to his Minister these words, with his own hand : “ I know not how you may have passed the night,

night, but for my part, I have not once been able to close my eyes for joy."

Finally, the proposal of assembling the States General, which unhappily brought on his ruin, was at first his own free act, for the sake of giving relief and satisfaction to his people *. Throughout the tumults that ensued, it is well known with what an air of entire sincerity and truth, he constantly, in private and in public, declared himself ready to make any sacrifice for his people's happiness ; how he refused to fly at times of greatest danger, when all who should have guarded him had fled, lest he should occasion the beginning of a civil war ; and lastly, when he was at length persuaded to fly, for the reasons mentioned above, how he absolutely refused to be defended by the loss of any lives. In August 1789, he was solemnly proclaimed, *Restorer of the Liberty of France* ; a title which might have proved as glorious to the nation as to him, had his people been as sincere in their desire of true liberty, as he was in his wish to see them free and happy.

This man, to whom the whole French nation was thus bound by innumerable ties of gratitude, who tried all means to make his people good, and great and happy, this was he whom, after ensnaring him with a promise and a solemn oath, that his person should be inviolable and sacred, which when claimed for him they laughed at, they dared to brand with the name of Tyrant, and without being able to prove a single crime against him, to murder on a scaffold †, the same men being his accusers, persecutors, judges, and executioners.

Gracious Heaven ! to what extravagance of wickedness will the passions of men hurry them, when not restrained by moral virtue or religion ! These dreadful scenes of injustice and cruelty are a disgrace to human nature, and should be taken as a warning by all men, as long as the world may last, to beware for their own sakes, for the sake of humanity, how, under the name of being made free, they consent to be made licentious. In these king-

* At the meeting of the States, some of his expressions well represented the feelings of his heart : " Come," said he to his people, " *partake of my power, and give me more of your love.*" In another part of his speech he said, " *I am the best friend of my people ;*" on which the audience shouted, " *We believe it, and return your friendship.*" Alas, how dreadful the return they were ere long to make !

† On Monday, January 21, 1793.

doms particularly, where we are already *truly free* ; where we have long felt, and known, and justly boasted that we are so ; where, by being so, we have long been rendered prosperous and happy ; it is a proof of the most profligate depravity to indulge or excite discontent, under the pretence of a want of liberty ; or to teach and encourage opinions which lead directly and unavoidably to such horrors, as a man of any goodness or any feeling cannot bear to think of.

As the Will of this much-injured King contains the strongest picture of the purity of his soul, who in the solitude of his gloomy prison could descend into his own heart, and, examining his conscience, with calm resignation in the presence of his God alone, declare that “ knowingly he never had offended any man,” it is here subjoined. It seems strange that his tyrannical persecutors should have suffered the publication of so affecting a testimony for him ; but its authenticity is certain.

THE WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN the name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This 21st day of December 1792, I Louis, Sixteenth of the name, King of France, having been now for upwards of four months confined with my family in the Tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who had been my subjects ; deprived of every communication whatever, even (since the 11th of this month) with my own family ; and besides, being involved in a criminal prosecution, of which it is impossible, considering the passions of men, to foresee the event, and for which no existing law can furnish any pretext or precedent ; having no witness to my thoughts, no one to whom I may address myself but God alone ; here in his presence, do declare my last will, my last sentiments.

To God, my creator, I leave my soul, which I pray him to receive into his mercy, and not to judge by its own merits, but by those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself a sacrifice to God his father for us men, how unworthy soever ; and for me, the most unworthy.

I die

die in union with our mother, the holy Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, whose powers are derived in an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ had confided them. I firmly believe, and profess all that is contained in the commandments of God and the church; in the sacraments and mysteries, as they are now taught, and ever have been taught by her: I never have pretended to constitute myself a judge, in the different modes of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but have ever submitted, and if God shall grant me life, will ever submit to the decisions which the ecclesiastical superiors, in union with the Holy Catholic Church, have pronounced, or shall pronounce, in conformity with the discipline of the church, followed from the days of Jesus Christ. From my whole heart I lament those of our brethren who may be in error; but I presume not to judge them; nor do I the less, according to the dictates of Christian charity, love them all in Jesus Christ. I beseech of God to pardon all my sins. I have scrupulously endeavoured to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not being able to obtain the assistance of a Catholic priest, I pray God to accept the confession which I have made of them to him; and above all, my deep repentance for having (though against my will) subscribed my name to acts which may be contrary to the discipline and faith of the Catholic church, to which, in my heart, I have ever remained sincerely united. I pray God to accept my firm resolution, should he grant me life, to profit as soon as possible of the ministry of a Catholic priest, to accuse myself of all my sins, and receive the sacrament of penance: I intr. at all those whom I may by inadvertence have offended, *for I cannot recollect that knowingly I ever have offended any one*, and all those to whom I may have given bad examples, or offence of conscience, to pardon me the evil which they think I may have done them.

I beseech all those who have charity, to unite their prayers with mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my sins.

From my whole heart I forgive those who, without any cause given them by me, have made themselves my enemies; and I pray to God to pardon them, as well as those,

those, who through false or misguided zeal have done me much injury.

I recommend to God, my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are connected with me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever.

I particularly implore the Almighty to look with an eye of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who for a long time have been suffering with me; and if they should lose me, to support them by his grace, as long as they remain in this perishable world. I recommend my children to my wife. Of her maternal tenderness for them I have never doubted. Above all, I recommend to her to make them good Christians, and truly virtuous: to teach them to regard the grandeurs of this world (should they be condemned to try them) as dangerous and transitory advantages, and to fix their eyes on the only true and lasting glories of eternity. I intreat my sister to be pleased to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be to them a mother, should they have the misfortune to lose their own.

I intreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which she suffers on my account, and the vexations I may have given her in the course of our union; as she may be assured I remember nothing against her, if she should have imagined that there is any thing with which she should reproach herself.

I very earnestly recommend to my children, next to their duty to God, which they ought to prefer to every thing, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all the cares she bestows on them for their own sakes and in remembrance of me.

I intreat them to consider my sister as a second mother. I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune to become King, to remember, that he owes himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred, and all resentment, and especially whatever relates to the misfortunes and miseries which I experience; that he cannot effect the happiness of the people, but by reigning according to the laws; but, at the same time, that a King cannot make the laws respected, and do the good which his heart wishes, but in proportion as he has the necessary authority; and that
without

without this, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more injurious than useful. I recommend to my son to take care of all the persons who have been attached to me, as far as his situation shall give him the means; to remember that this is a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or relations of those who have perished for me; and next towards those who have fallen into misery on my account. I know that there are many of those who were about my person, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and who have even shewn me ingratitude; but I forgive them; often, in moments of trouble and turbulence, a man is not master of himself; and I intreat my son, if he should have the power to punish, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wish to be able to testify my gratitude to those who have displayed a true and disinterested attachment to me. If, on the one hand, I was sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of persons to whom I had never acted but with kindness, as well to themselves, as to their relations or friends; on the other, I have had the consolation of seeing the voluntary attachment and interest which many persons have shewn to me. I intreat them to accept of my thanks: in the situation in which things still are, I should be afraid of bringing them into danger were I to speak more explicitly; but I recommend particularly to my son to seek every opportunity of being able to discover them.

I should, however, conceive that I did injustice to the sentiments of the nation, if I did not openly recommend to my son Messrs. de Chamilly and Hù; who were induced by their sincere attachment to shut themselves up with me in this mournful abode, at the risk of becoming the unhappy victims of that attachment. I also recommend to him Cleri, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me. As it is he who has remained with me to the last, I request Messrs. of the Common Council to deliver him my clothes, my books, my watch, my purse, and the other little effects which have been deposited at the Common Council Chamber.

I also most willingly forgive those who guarded me, for the ill-treatment and harshness which they thought it their duty to use towards me. I have found some feeling and compassionate souls; may they enjoy the heart-felt tranquillity

quillity which their mode of thinking ought to give them.

I intreat Messrs. de Maleherbes, Tronchet, and Desfeze, to receive here my utmost thanks, and the assurance of my sensibility, for all the care and all the pains which they took for me.

I conclude by declaring, before God, and ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of the crimes which are alledged against me.

Done in duplicate, at the Tower of the Temple,
December 25, 1792.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(A true copy.)

BAUDRAIS, Municipal Officer.

POOR RICHARD;

O R,

THE WAY TO WEALTH AND CONTENT IN THESE TROUBLESOME TIMES.

COURTEOUS READER,

I AM an old man, and was formerly an Almanack-maker, and in the course of my business have calculated many Eclipses and Comets, and other strange Revolutions of the Skies; but I must fairly own that many most extraordinary events have happened lately upon this our Planet the Earth, that were far beyond my abilities to calculate, or, I believe, those of the shrewdest Almanack-maker in the trade. What the event of them will be, God knows! But as I am now advanced in years, I may perhaps not live to see it. My trade, having by my own industry and attention been sufficiently successful, I have long since quitted, for the sake of spending the remainder of my days in peace and quietness, and for the better preparing myself for my appearance in the next world; but I followed it for more than five and thirty years; and in order to make my works palatable to all tastes, I used to adorn my Tables of days and months with such gleanings of morality and good advice to all ranks as I found from time to time

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in the course of my reading, expressed in short sentences fit for my purpose. This intelligence I should not have troubled thee with, but for the sake of introducing the following incident, which I shall now relate to thee, and which flattered my vanity not a little, in hearing myself quoted so often and with such good effect.

The other day I went into a public-house of much resort to get a sober pint of porter to refresh me after a long walk, when I found ten or twelve people sitting round a table on one side of the room, and conversing upon the late transactions of France, and the state of things in this country. I sat down in the next box to them, and as their conversation seemed to be interesting, and upon a public subject, I listened to them in preference to reading the newspaper that lay before me. One of the youngest of the party, who seemed to be more ignorant as well as more petulant than the rest, was speaking in praise of the late Revolutions in France, and what a fine thing it was for the French that now they had no taxes to pay—that in this country we were so heavily taxed that we were almost ruined, and that——

He was proceeding in rather an intemperate manner, manifestly to the disapprobation of the rest of the company, when one of them, a plain neat old man with white locks, interrupted him, and said, ‘ If they tell
 ‘ you that in France they pay no taxes, they deceive
 ‘ you ; for though many of their old taxes are abolished,
 ‘ their very Revolution, that you praise so much, is a
 ‘ tax upon them, and such a one as many of them find
 ‘ to be a much heavier tax than they ever felt before ;
 ‘ for in consequence of it their manufactures are put a
 ‘ stop to, their workmen are unemployed, the lands are
 ‘ uncultivated, and many of their poor are at this time
 ‘ literally starving for want of bread : Several, to avoid
 ‘ perishing for hunger at home, have enlisted in their
 ‘ armies, and *they* have fallen “ out of the frying-pan
 ‘ “ into the fire,” as poor Richard says, for the Govern-
 ‘ ment there (if it can be called a Government) do not
 ‘ cloath these new soldiers, but send them to the dif-
 ‘ ferent armies with only their own rags upon their
 ‘ backs, which, with constant exercise, and march-
 ‘ ing from place to place, are soon worn out, so that
 ‘ they are literally half naked ; and this is the reason of
 ‘ their being called *Sans Culottes*, which means *without*
 ‘ *breeches* ;

' breeches ; nor have any of them a shoe to their foot ;
 ' and in this condition they are kept in the open fields ;
 ' night and day, often without a tent to cover them,
 ' or a little straw to lie down upon, during this cold
 ' weather. They have bad bread, little or no meat, and
 ' nothing but water to drink, and only four-pence
 ' halfpenny a-day paid in paper money, in the exchange
 ' of which they lose one-half. For, amongst other
 ' blessings of their Revolution, all the gold and silver of
 ' the country is vanished, and in order to supply its place
 ' they have paper money, called Assignats, which is
 ' looked upon to be of such precarious value, that nobody
 ' will sell you any thing for it without charging
 ' double price. Now, said he, with respect to this
 ' Country, England, which you say is so heavily taxed
 ' that we are almost ruined, look round amongst your
 ' neighbours and acquaintance, and see if any of them
 ' that are but commonly prudent and industrious, do
 ' not live better than they did twenty years ago. As to
 ' the taxes, to be sure they are much increased within
 ' that period ; but if those laid on by the Government
 ' were the only ones we had to pay, we might easily dis-
 ' charge them ; but we have many others much more
 ' grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much
 ' by our idleness, three times as much by our pride ;
 ' and four times as much by our folly, and from these
 ' taxes the Commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by
 ' allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to
 ' good advice, and something may be done for us ;
 ' " God helps them that help themselves," as Poor
 ' Richard says.

' I. It would be thought a hard Government that
 ' should tax its people one-tenth part of their time of
 ' be employed in its service : but idleness taxes many of
 ' us much more ; sloth, by bringing on diseases, abso-
 ' lutely shortens life. " Sloth, like rust, consumes
 ' faster than labour wears, while the used key is always
 ' bright," as Poor Richard says.—" But dost thou love
 ' life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff
 ' life is made of," as Poor Richard says. How much
 ' more than is necessary do we spend in sleep ; for-
 ' getting that " The sleeping fox catches no poultry,
 ' and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave,"
 ' as Poor Richard says.

" If

“ If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be,” as Poor Richard says, “ the greatest prodigality ;” since, as he elsewhere tells us, “ Lost time is never found again ; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough.” Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose: for by diligence we shall do more with less perplexity. “ Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy ; and he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night ; while laziness travels so slowly that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee ; and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise,” as Poor Richard says.

“ So what signifies wishing for no taxes—Government must be paid for protecting us, both at home and abroad. Who is to pay the army and navy for defending us, now these hungry *Sans Culottes* of French Levellers are going to try to come over and plunder us, if there were no taxes ? Who is to pay the Judges for determining questions of property, and for punishing thieves and murderers, if there were no taxes ? Who is to take care of the old, infirm, and sick poor of the parish, if there were no taxes ? Besides, we may prevent ourselves from even feeling these taxes if we bestir ourselves ; “ Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hope will die fasting. There are no gains without pains. He that hath a trade, hath an estate ; and he that hath a calling hath an office of profit and honour,” as Poor Richard says ; but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes, for, “ At the working-man’s house Hunger looks in, but dares not enter.” Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for “ Industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them.” What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, “ Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry ; then plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep.” Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. “ One to-day is worth two to-morrows,” as Poor Richard says ; and farther, “ Never leave that
“ till

“ till to-morrow, which you can do to-day.”—If you
 ‘ were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good
 ‘ master should catch you idle? Are you then your own
 ‘ master? Be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there
 ‘ is so much to be done for yourself, your family, your
 ‘ country, and your king. Handle your tools without
 ‘ mittens; remember “ That the cat in gloves catches
 ‘ no mice,” as Poor Richard says. It is true there is
 ‘ much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed,
 ‘ but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects;
 ‘ for “ Constant dropping wears away stones; and by
 ‘ diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable;
 ‘ and little strokes fell great oaks.”

‘ Methinks I hear some of you say, “ Must a man
 ‘ afford himself no leisure?” I will tell thee, my
 ‘ friend, what Poor Richard says: “ Employ thy time
 ‘ well, if thou meanest to gain leisure, and, since thou
 ‘ art not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour.”
 ‘ *Leisure* is time for doing something useful; this lei-
 ‘ sure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man
 ‘ never; for, “ A life of leisure and a life of laziness
 ‘ are two things. Many without labour would live
 ‘ by their wits only, but they break for want of
 ‘ stock;” whereas industry giveth comfort, and plenty,
 ‘ and respect. “ Fly pleasures, and they will follow
 ‘ you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and now
 ‘ I have a sheep and a cow, every-body bids me good
 ‘ morrow.”

‘ II. But with our industry we must likewise be
 ‘ steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own af-
 ‘ fairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to
 ‘ others; for, as Poor Richard says,

“ I never saw an oft-removed tree,
 “ Nor yet an oft-removed family,
 “ That throve so well as those that settled be.”

‘ And again; “ Three removes are as bad as a fire;”
 ‘ and again; “ If you would have your business done, go;
 ‘ if not, send.” And again;

“ He that by the plough would thrive,
 “ Himself must either hold or drive.”

‘ And again, “ The eye of a master will do more
 ‘ work than both his hands;” and again, “ Want of
 ‘ care does us more damage than want of knowledge;”
 “ and

and again, "Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open." Trusting too much to others care is the ruin of many; for "In the affairs of this world men are saved not by faith, but by the want of it:" But a man's own care is profitable; for "If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief: for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost," being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.

III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business: but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, "keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will," and

"Many estates are spent in the getting,

"Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,

"And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting."

"If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her out-goes are greater than her incomes."

"Away, then, with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for

"Women and wine, game and deceit,

"Make the wealth small, and the want great."

"And farther, "What maintains one vice would bring up two children."

"You say we are almost ruined by the Taxes—Look at home, friend, and see whether it is the Taxes that ruin you.—You are a shopkeeper in Cheapside, are not you?—What business have you to keep saddle-horses, and a villa out of town, and to be running down to Bath and to Margate two or three times a-year?—Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee," as Poor Richard says.—What business have you to give great Entertainments, like a Lord, with claret, burgundy, and champagne at your table, when you ought to be content with a pot of porter, a tumbler of punch, or a glass or two of humble port at most?—What business

‘ have you to play for large stakes at cards and dice, losing your money like a prodigal?—to frequent Operas and Masquerades, and Clubs at the West end of the Town, like a Man of Quality?—By these and other extravagances, some of you dashing Tradesmen, that ought to be otherwise employed, are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom you formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly, that “A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees,” as Poor Richard says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of; they think “It is day and will never be night;” that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but “Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom,” as Poor Richard says; and then, “When the well is dry, they know the worth of water.” But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice. “If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing, goes a sorrowing,” as Poor Richard says; and indeed so does he that lends to such people, when he goes to get it in again, Poor Dick farther advises and says,

“Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse:

“Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.”

And again; “Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and a great deal more saucy.” When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but Poor Dick says, “It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it:” And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell in order to equal the ox.

“Vessels large may venture more,

“But little boats should keep near shore.”

It is, however, a folly soon punished: for, as Poor Richard says, “Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt; Pride breakfasted with Plenty, dined with Poverty, and supped with Infamy.” And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in the person; it creates envy; it hastens misfortune.

‘ But

' But you cannot expect to be able to support these
 ' extravagances long by the profits of your shop. Your
 ' trade begins to slacken from your inattention. Then,
 ' to preserve appearances, you take up money upon
 ' credit.—Now, see what madness it is to run in debt—
 ' From that moment you are no longer master of your-
 ' self—you give another person power over your liberty,
 ' If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to
 ' see your creditor ; you will be in fear when you speak
 ' to him ; you will make poor pitiful sneaking excuses, and
 ' by degrees come to lose your veracity, and sink into base,
 ' downright lying ; for, " The *second* vice is lying, the
 ' " first is running in debt," as Poor Richard says ; and
 ' again to the same purpose, " Lying rides upon Debt's
 ' " back : " whereas a free-born Englishman ought not
 ' to be ashamed or afraid to see or speak to any man
 ' living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit
 ' and virtue. " It is hard for an empty bag to stand up-
 ' " right."—Now we will suppose that you have been able
 ' to persuade some person, who has a better opinion of
 ' you than you deserve, to lend you money payable at a
 ' distant day. Flush'd with this, you repair to your
 ' old haunts, the Faro Table or the Dice-box, and
 ' think little of the re-payment you are to make ; but,
 ' as Poor Richard says, " Creditors have better memo-
 ' ries than debtors ; creditors are a superstitious sect,
 ' " great observers of set days and times." The day comes
 ' round before you are aware, and the demand is made
 ' before you are prepared to satisfy it : or if you bear
 ' your debt in mind, the term, which at first seemed so
 ' long, will, as it lessens, appear extremely short. Time
 ' will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as
 ' his shoulders. " Those have a short Lent, who owe
 ' " money to be paid at Easter." At present, perhaps, you
 ' may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and
 ' that you can bear a little extravagance without injury,
 ' but

" For age and want save while you may,

" No morning sun lasts a whole day."

' Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever while
 ' you live, expence is constant and certain ; and, " It is
 ' " easier to build two chimnies, than to keep one in
 ' " fuel," as Poor Richard says ; so, " Rather go to bed
 ' " supperless, than rise in debt."

" Get

“ Get what you can, and what you get hold,
“ 'Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold.”
‘ And when you have got this Philosopher’s stone, sure
‘ you will no longer complain of being ruined by Taxes
‘ here, or envy a neighbouring country, which instead
‘ of gaining happiness, as you absurdly seem to suppose,
‘ by the late Revolutions that have taken place in it, is
‘ very certainly at this moment labouring under the
‘ greatest misery and distress throughout all ranks of its
‘ inhabitants.’

Thus the old Gentleman ended his harangue.—The rest of the company applauded his doctrine, and the young man to whom in particular it was addressed, seemed much abashed, and soon took his hat and left the room—I hope much edified with what he had heard.

I am, Courteous Reader,
Thine to serve Thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERSON.

END OF THE TRACTS.

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